

This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from the King's Research Portal at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/>



Cuyp's cattle: aesthetic transformations in Dutch 17th-century art

Levitt, Ruth L.

Awarding institution:
UCL University College London

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

END USER LICENCE AGREEMENT



Unless another licence is stated on the immediately following page this work is licensed

under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International

licence. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

You are free to copy, distribute and transmit the work

Under the following conditions:

- Attribution: You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).
- Non Commercial: You may not use this work for commercial purposes.
- No Derivative Works - You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Any of these conditions can be waived if you receive permission from the author. Your fair dealings and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact librarypure@kcl.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

CUYP'S CATTLE: AESTHETIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN
DUTCH 17TH-CENTURY ART

by

RUTH L. LEVITT

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D at
the University of London, 1989

Department of History of Art
University College London
Gower Street
London WC1E 6BT

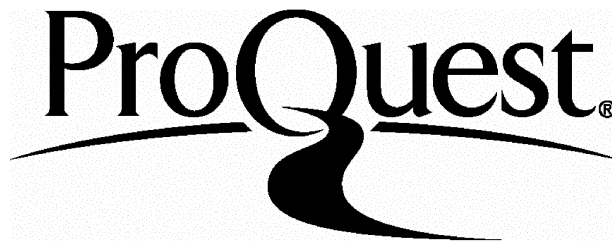
ProQuest Number: 10104686

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10104686

Published by ProQuest LLC(2016). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

CUYP'S CATTLE: AESTHETIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN DUTCH 17TH-CENTURY ART

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the depiction of cattle by the Dutch painter Aelbert Cuyp (1620-91). It seeks to identify possible reasons for his choices of subject-matter and to trace the implications for subsequent taste. Origins of the Dutch 17th-century veestuk (cattle piece) can be found in artefacts and writings of many earlier cultures, in which cattle images served mythological, religious, instructional and other functions. The real and symbolic importance of Dutch cattle husbandry and dairy farming contributed further significance to this iconography, and in Cuyp's day the 'Dutch cow' was recognised as a patriotic emblem for the politically independent and economically successful United Provinces.

Analysis of the colours and condition of contemporary cattle and of farming practices suggests there were evident differences between the subjects as Cuyp depicted them and the actuality from which he derived his compositions. This prompts a reconsideration of claims that 'realism' is the prime character of Cuyp's art. It is proposed that Cuyp adopted a deliberately selective and idealised vision, representing rural subjects in nostalgic terms.

Aspects of the intricate interrelationship between observable actuality and pictorial invention are exposed by attending to the cultural imperatives that informed and were informed by the pictures. Cuyp's works not only exploited established associations to images of cattle but also carried moralising, pietistic and entertaining messages, similar to those found in still-life and genre subjects, whose meaning has become lost to modern observers.

Cuyp seems to have worked entirely for a local clientele, and, since Dordrecht was not an agricultural centre, explanations of the appeal of his cattle images are sought in that community's prevailing patrician and burgerlijk attitudes and beliefs about rural subjects. It is argued that his paintings, rather than being regarded as neutrally descriptive reflections of local conditions, were valued both for their illusionistic naturalism and for their underlying meanings. Cuyp's posthumous reputation in Dordrecht and subsequent influence are examined in the light of these aesthetic transformations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor at University College London, Charles Ford, for his stimulating guidance throughout the work on this thesis. He has combined challenging criticism with positive encouragement, and I hope the results reflect the benefit I have obtained.

The following individuals have given their time most generously to comment on drafts of parts or all of the thesis, and I am very grateful to them for their expert advice: Drs P. L. Böstrom, Instituut voor Veeteeltkundig Onderzoek 'Schoonoord', Zeist, Dr Andrew Hemingway, Dept of History of Art, University College London, Guido Jansen, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Professor Jonathan Israel, Dept of History, University College London, and Mr Stephen Reiss.

Thanks go also to the staff of the Dordrechts Museum, particularly Drs J. M. de Groot, Director, and Ineke Voorsteegh, and the Dept of History of Art, University College London, for their practical assistance.

Copyright in the accompanying illustrations belongs to the Dordrechts Museum (G), the National Gallery, London (A, B, D, F), the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (B, I, J), the Marquess of Tavistock (E) and the Wallace Collection, London (C).

Ruth Levitt
September 1989

CONTENTS

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
List of figures	6
1 INTRODUCTION	7
1.1 Cuyp's rediscovery in the 18th century	
1.2 Cultural imperatives	
1.3 Landscape studies	
1.4 Cuyp's cattle	
2 HISTORY AND ICONOGRAPHY OF CATTLE IMAGES	51
2.1 Precursors of the <u>veestuk</u>	
2.2 Early images of cattle	
2.3 Myths and biblical subjects	
2.4 Astrologies, bestiaries and emblem books	
2.5 Pattern books and series	
2.6 Agricultural treatises and natural histories	
2.7 Pastorals	
2.8 Political and topographical subjects	
2.9 <u>Veestuk</u> iconography	
3 CATTLE HUSBANDRY	97
3.1 Origins of Dutch cattle	
3.2 Colours of cattle	
3.3 Condition of cattle	
3.4 Dairy farming	
3.5 The countryside	
3.6 Pictorial transformations of actuality	
4 AELBERT CUYP'S CATTLE PICTURES	157
4.1 Catalogues raisonnés	
4.2 Cuyp's pictures of cattle	
4.3 The Bute Cuyp	
4.4 Rhineland landscape	
4.5 Town and country	
4.6 Ruined buildings	
4.7 Patriotic views	
4.8 <u>Veestuk</u>	
4.9 <u>Stalinterieur</u>	
5 AELBERT CUYP AND DORDRECHT	200
5.1 The Cuyp family	
5.2 Gerrit Gerritszoon Cuyp	
5.3 Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp	
5.4 Benjamin Gerritszoon Cuyp	
5.5 Aelbert Jacobszoon Cuyp	
5.6 Dordrecht in Cuyp's day	

6	THE CUYP TRADITION	238
6.1	Cuyp's followers	
6.2	Dordrecht artists	
6.2.1	After Cuyp, 1670-1730	
6.2.2	Aert Schouman and his generation, 1730-1770	
6.2.3	Abraham and Jacob van Strij, from 1770	
6.3	Cuyp's posthumous reputation	

APPENDICES

1	Cattle pictures: list of illustrations	269
2	Markets and weighhouses	279
3	Milk yields	280
4	Richard Farington	282
5	Cuyp family tree	291
6	Van den Corput family tree	292
7	Artists active in Dordrecht in the 17th and 18th centuries and their specialties	293
8	Artists active in Dordrecht: teachers and pupils	297

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1	Cuyp family	1.1 Aelbert Cuyp	302
		1.2 Gerrit Gerritszoon Cuyp	
		1.3 Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp	
		1.4 Benjamin Gerritszoon Cuyp	
2	Dordrecht	2.1 Primary sources	312
		2.2 Secondary sources	
		2.3 Art and artists	
3	Cattle	3.1 Cattle husbandry	320
		3.2 Agriculture	
		3.3 Cattle images	
4	General art history	4.1 Iconography and subject-matter	326
		4.2 Other studies	
		4.3 General sources	
		4.4 Other references	

LIST OF FIGURES

(see accompanying slides)

- A Aelbert Cuyp: River landscape with horseman and peasants (oil on canvas, 123 x 241 cm; London, National Gallery)
- B Aelbert Cuyp: River landscape with horsemen (oil on canvas, 129 x 227 cm; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)
- C Aelbert Cuyp: Avenue at Meerdervoort (oil on canvas, 72 x 100 cm; London, Wallace Collection)
- D Aelbert Cuyp: Ubbergen Castle (oil on panel, 32.1 x 54.4 cm; London, National Gallery)
- E Aelbert Cuyp: View of Nijmegen (oil on panel, 106 x 165 cm; Marquess of Tavistock, Woburn Abbey, Beds)
- F Aelbert Cuyp: Peasants with cattle by the River Merwede (oil on panel, 38 X 50 cm; London, National Gallery)
- G Aelbert Cuyp: Stalinterieur (oil on panel, 65 x 92 cm; Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum)
- H Dordrecht, map from M. Balen: Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht (Dordrecht, 1677), facing p. 57; in C. Beudeker: Steedeboek van Holland en Westfriesland, i (1718), f. 6 (London, British Museum)
- I,J Master of the St Elisabeth Panels: The St Elisabeth's day flood (c. 1500; left and right versos of tryptich, both oil on panel, 127 X 110 cm; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)

The subject of this study is the depiction of cattle by the Dutch 17th-century painter Aelbert Cuyp (1620-91) of Dordrecht. His specific choices of subject-matter are investigated, and their implications for subsequent taste are examined. Unlike much of the literature, which takes for granted his rank as one of the celebrities of the 'Dutch school', the present study aims to enquire more exactly into why his contemporary reception as just another relatively obscure provincial master became replaced by an undisputed international renown. Attention will be focused particularly on the period from about 1660, when Cuyp was probably at the height of his powers, to about 1785, by when his international reputation was firmly in place. To set this in context, a chronology is briefly outlined.

The first stage covers Cuyp's main years of activity, between 1640 and 1660. He probably trained in the Cuyp family's successful workshop in Dordrecht, eventually taking charge of it. The output, mostly destined for a local clientele through the open market, would have been produced in collaboration with a number of pupils and assistants. Even in those days therefore, distinguishing works specifically by Aelbert Cuyp's hand may have been difficult since he is thought generally not to have signed or dated his paintings. In the second stage, from 1660 to 1740, what reputation Cuyp enjoyed in Dordrecht is uncertain. As will

be described, his works rarely changed hands and the outside world still knew nothing of him. However, he was gradually 'discovered' between 1740 and 1785. His status rose as his works began to be noticed and entered major British and French collections for the first time. Belatedly, Dordrecht artists and collectors renewed interest in him, and his name also became recognised in the other Dutch centres.

Then, between about 1785 and 1875, Cuyp's reputation was radically enhanced, elevating him to the company of the internationally famous Old Masters. His works were sought particularly avidly by British collectors, to whom he became the 'Dutch Claude'.¹ They bought up most of the best paintings (together with many falsely attributed examples, of poorer quality), in some cases for remarkably high prices.² This British-dominated fashion, which included the profound admiration of such artists as John Constable (1776-1837) and J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851), was the legacy passed on to the most recent period: the years from 1875 to the present. Even if Cuyp's name has since lost a little of that former glitter, his pre-eminent standing has not changed fundamentally. The paintings now rarely come up for sale and although British owners continue to possess the largest

¹John Boydell used the epithet in 1769: see note 10 below.

²For example 140,000 francs in 1868 in Paris by Richard Seymour-Conway, 4th Marquess of Hertford (1800-70), for the Avenue at Meerdervoort (HdG 168*), now in the Wallace Collection, London. This picture is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, on pp. 181-5 below. [*HdG = Hofstede de Groot's catalogue raisonnée: see pp. 19 and 159-60 below.]

share,³ wealthy American collectors became keen buyers, making it difficult for Dutch public collections to improve the quality of their holdings.

The modern view of Cuyp is little changed from its 19th-century form, but, for all its grandeur, it does not explain satisfactorily why he should have painted cattle nor why that type of subject-matter should have become so popular in the 17th century. Discussion conventionally emphasises his 'realism' and alleged 'fidelity to nature' and hinges round the presumption that his was a straightforwardly descriptive art, produced for its own sake. Rural subjects are taken to be inherently and eternally 'beautiful', and the possible meanings Cuyp's unique style of naturalistic illusionism may have had in his own day are not questioned. This enquiry attempts to discover what the original responses to Cuyp's works may have been and to retrieve information about the initial character of his posthumous reputation. It will be suggested here that the highly prized 'realism', now so deeply fixed in art-historical and popular opinion, is too superficial a reading to account for his reception in the 17th and early 18th centuries. His achievements need to be

³In 1973 the British were estimated to possess about 45% of Cuyp's total output, with most of the rest in America (18%), the Netherlands (10%), Germany (9%) and France (6%). Aelbert Cuyp in British collections (exh. cat. by S. Reiss, London, National Gallery, 1973). See S. Reiss: Aelbert Cuyp (London, 1975), pp. 204-11 for more specific locations; his list is expected to be updated by A. Chong's dissertation: Social meanings in the paintings of Aelbert Cuyp (diss., New York University, in preparation).

considered in the light of those original responses in Dordrecht⁴ and later in Britain and France.

1.1 CUYP'S REDISCOVERY IN THE 18TH CENTURY

When Richard Wilson (1713-82), a painter of classically inspired British landscapes, was asked c. 1781 by Sir William Beechey (1753-1839) to say whom he considered the best landscape painter, he replied:

"Why sir, Claude for air and Gaspard for composition and sentiment; you may walk in Claude's pictures and count the miles. But there are two painters whose merit the world does not yet know, and who will not fail hereafter to be highly valued, Cuyp and Mompers."

Beechey continued:

"Cuyp's pictures were then selling so low that when Wilson and I one day went into Christie's rooms where a large one was about to be offered by auction:- 'Any wager' said he, 'that this picture does not fetch above thirty guineas, and yet you will live to see it fetch more than five hundred.' It was actually knocked down for forty guineas and has since realised a still larger sum than he mentioned."⁵

Wilson's pupil Joseph Farington (1747-1821) was later told

⁴Cuyp's Dordrecht reputation is outlined below and examined in detail in Chapter 6.

⁵W. T. Whitley: Artists and their friends in England, 1700-1799 (London, 1928), i, pp. 380-81. Beechey was a prominent portrait painter.

by Benjamin West (1738-1820)⁶ that the first work by Cuyp known in England was the large landscape painting imported c. 1760 by Captain William Baillie (1723-1810)⁷ for John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute (1713-92).⁸ An engraving made by William Elliott (1727-66) after this painting was published in 1764 by the engraver and print publisher John Boydell (1719-1804), in a collection after "the most capital paintings in England".⁹ The print was available for five shillings, and in the text accompanying the 1769 edition Boydell commented:

"It is astonishing, that the works of so great a master as Cuyp should have been almost totally unknown, or disregarded, till within the last twenty years. That his merit should have been overlooked by his countrymen is not at all surprising. The boldness of his pencil, and the freedom of his touches, were not calculated to please a people, who have been accustomed to the exquisite finishings of the most laborious class of artists that the world has produced. But

⁶J. Farington: The diary of Joseph Farington, xv (ed. K. Cave, London, 1984), p. 5203 (18 May 1818). West, a history painter, was, with Farington, one of the founder-members of the Royal Academy of Arts.

⁷River landscape with horseman and peasants, the 'Bute Cuyp'. See Fig. A, discussed in detail on pp. 171-8 below. See also C. Brown: 'Aelbert Cuyp and his family at Dordrecht', Burlington Magazine, cxx (1978), p. 52. Baillie was a connoisseur and engraver. See note 16 below.

⁸Favourite and minister of George III, amateur botanist; his collection of Dutch and Flemish pictures and library were housed at Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, built 1766-70 by Robert Adam (1728-92).

⁹J. Boydell: Collection of prints; engraved by the best artists, from the most capital paintings in England (London, 1764), nr 16, p. 4. Boydell called it "A View near Maestricht" and offered as a companion a print he published in 1765 after a View of Tivoli by Salvator Rosa (1615-73) in John Hadley's collection, also by Elliott.

that pictures of such extraordinary merit should have so long escaped the attention of collectors of other nations, who were not fettered by such prejudices, appears incredible. But certain it is, that, for more than a century, his works were unnoticed, or disregarded; and that it is entirely owing to the taste of the British nation that his pictures have been retrieved from obscurity, their value enhanced, and places allotted to them in some of the first collections in this kingdom."¹⁰

Boydell was right that the Dutch had "overlooked" Cuyp: records show that in the 17th century Cuyp's pictures were not found outside Dordrecht collections¹¹ and their valuations there were consistently low.¹² In the first half of the 18th century the pictures were still not at all fashionable in the Netherlands and interest in them seems to have been confined to the few Dordrecht painters then producing animal and landscapes subjects.¹³ Those works that did change hands fetched conspicuously poor prices.¹⁴ The

¹⁰J. Boydell: A collection of prints, engraved after the most capital paintings in England, 2 vols (London, 1769-72), i (1769), pp. 11-12, pl. XII. The same text appears in French alongside and in the all-French edition of the catalogue, published in London in 1779 (pl. XII, p. 6). The Guildhall Library Print Room, London, has an original set of the prints: Cuyp's picture is reproduced in reverse and he is named "Adrian Cuyp".

¹¹A. Bredius: 'Wie wurde Cuyp während seines Lebens geschätzt?', Kunstchronik, xxiv (1913), cols 409-11.

¹²A. Chong: 'The market for landscape painting in seventeenth-century Holland', Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (exh. cat. by P. C. Sutton et al., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1987-8; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Philadelphia, Museum of Art, 1988), pp. 111, 119.

¹³See pp. 242-7 and Appendix 7 below.

¹⁴See Chapter 6, note 60.

"boldness of his pencil" and "freedom of his touches", virtues in Boydell's opinion, would indeed have been out of step with Dutch 18th-century "prejudices". The Netherlands had by then reacted against the virtuosity and inventiveness of its 17th-century artists, and taste favoured a more decorative style, one capable of producing "exquisite finishings". The "collectors of other nations", British and French aristocrats and landed gentry in the main, seem to have ignored Cuyp until the mid-18th century, even though they had already been buying other Dutch masters with increasing enthusiasm, as will be described. Boydell's nationalistic flattery of the "taste of the British nation" was a calculated dig at French dealers, who had also been active buyers of Dutch 17th-century art since before the turn of the century. His comments have to be seen in the light of his campaigns to improve the foreign market for British engravers by selling their prints on the Continent,¹⁵ and to persuade British buyers to widen their taste through the purchase of his collected editions of prints after the Old Masters.¹⁶

¹⁵J. Boydell: op. cit. (1769), preface. W. H. Friedman: Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery (New York, 1976), pp. 36-43. Boydell was an Alderman of the City of London (from 1782), then Sheriff (1785) and Lord Mayor (1791-2). He established the Shakespeare Gallery in 1786. See also Alderman Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery (exh. cat. by L. Nelke, intro. R. W. Hutton, Univ. of Chicago, David and Alfred Smith Gallery, 1978), pp. 7-13.

¹⁶For example he published in 1792 a two-volume edition of 113 plates engraved by William Baillie, which included Rembrandt's 'Hundred guilder print' and a moonlit scene after Cuyp (ii, nr 20). The set was reissued in 1803 and listed in full in An alphabetical catalogue of plates ... which comprise the stock of John and Josiah Boydell ...

British interest in Cuyp's paintings gradually strengthened during the second half of the 18th century. Arthur Pond (1701-58) and John and Paul Knapton had published a series of engravings in 1741-6, based on Old Master landscape paintings in British collections, called Italian landscapes. It included 30 prints after Gaspard Dughet (1615-75) and 8 after Claude (1600-82)¹⁷ and its success indicates the positive taste there was for classical landscapes. But Boydell was probably still in the forefront of British opinion in commending Cuyp's "extraordinary merit" - at that time (the 1760s) few others, apart from Richard Wilson and George Stubbs (1724-1806), seem to have discovered particular qualities to admire or emulate in the works they had seen.¹⁸ Samuel Ireland (1725-1800), the engraver and writer who visited Dordrecht 20 years later in 1789, confirmed:

"Valuable as this great artist's works are now held by the connoisseur, I am informed it is not more than thirty years since a room of his best cabinet pictures were purchased by the late Mr Blackwood,¹⁹ for

(London, 1803).

¹⁷L. W. Lippincott: Selling art in Georgian London: the rise of Arthur Pond (New Haven/London, 1983), pp. 138-9. The prints were issued in 'numbers', each containing four prints of uniform size, costing five shillings, appearing quarterly.

¹⁸E. Waterhouse: Painting in Britain, 1530-1790 (Harmondsworth, 4/1978), pp. 232, 299.

¹⁹John Blackwood imported paintings for Sir Lawrence Dundas (d 1781), who was, like Bute, one of the early collectors of Cuyp. The Dundas sale in 1794 included a Landscape with cattle and figures (HdG 426), bought by John Julius Angerstein (1735-1823) for 195 guineas, from whom the

seven or eight pounds a picture. Such are the vicissitudes of works of art, and such the baneful influence of fashion and caprice, even on minds best cultivated and informed."²⁰

Although sale catalogues first mention Cuyp in the 1740s, it was the late 1750s before active demand emerged. This was several years after the reputations of Jacob van Ruisdael (1628/9-82), Jan Wijnants (1631/2-84) and Meindert Hobbema (1638-1709) had become established in Britain,²¹ and as much as a century after works by the Dutch Italianate landscape painters Cornelis van Poelenburch (1586-1667), Jan Asselijn (c. 1615-52), Jan Both (c. 1615-52) and Nicolaes Berchem (1620-83) had begun to be acquired. Thereafter, top British saleroom prices for Cuyp rose from £28 11s 6d in 1757 to 51 guineas in 1758, 95 guineas in 1759, 220 guineas in 1795 and 1000 guineas by 1810.²² Reitlinger commented:

"...[the landscapes] of Cuyp and Potter appealed to a stock-breeding nobility, while the becalmed fleets of Willem van de Velde and the choppy seas of Backhuyzen had a strong appeal to fortunes founded on sea-borne trade."²³

National Gallery, London, acquired it in 1824.

²⁰S. Ireland: A picturesque tour through Holland, Brabant and part of France, made in the autumn of 1789, 2 vols (London, 1790), i, p. 41.

²¹In 1754, James Burgess's additions to Roger de Piles's Abregé de la vie des peintres (Paris, 1699), published as The lives of the most eminent painters, who have lived since, or were omitted by Mons. de Piles (London), included biographies of Ruisdael and Wijnants but not Cuyp.

²²J. Hayes: 'British patrons and landscape painting', Apollo, lxxxiii (1966), pp. 188-97.

²³G. Reitlinger: The economics of taste, 3 vols (London,

Subsequently prices continued to rise despite periodic fluctuations in the popularity of Dutch 17th-century art generally on the British market. The trend has since been maintained, and Cuyp's pre-eminence has only occasionally and temporarily varied. In 1989 the Bute Cuyp changed hands for £8m, easily an all-time record price for the artist's works.²⁴

Among British collections the four principal holdings are in London at the National Gallery (11), Wallace Collection (10) and Dulwich Picture Gallery (6), and in the Royal Collection (8). The rest are scattered around Britain, many inherited by heirs of the original British purchasers. The Queen's Cuyps were acquired between 1806 and 1814 by George IV, four of them from the collection formed by the financier Sir Francis Baring (1740-1810).²⁵ Those in the public galleries, obtained through purchases and bequests, can be traced to late 18th- and early 19th-century sources, but not to their

1961-70), i (1961), p. 13. British 18th-century interest in paintings of livestock was an important aspect of the cattle painting tradition. See p. 143 below.

²⁴The 6th Marquess of Bute sold it to the National Gallery, London. For comment on the price see P. Watson: 'How to stop the Cuyp hype', The Observer (14 May 1989), p. 14.

²⁵HdG 200, 432, 488, 637. C. White: The Dutch pictures in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen (Cambridge, 1982), nrs 34-41. Baring's son Sir Thomas Baring (1772-1848), also a collector, sold 86 pictures (including the Cuyps) to George IV in 1814. See also F. Haskell: Rediscoveries in art (London, 1976), pp. 72-3.

first Dutch owners.²⁶ Though a few of Cuyp's works came to Britain directly from the Netherlands, most became available as a result of disposals of French collections following the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars.

French aristocrats²⁷ started buying Dutch pictures in the 17th century; they became increasingly interested in the so-called 'minor genres' (still-life, portrait, landscape and genre subjects), notably in the 18th century, as taste changed following the decline in the influence of the Academie's strict classicist dogma, with its insistence on the primacy of historical subjects. The works of artists such as Philips Wouwerman (1619-68), David Teniers (1610-90), Willem Kalf (1619-93), Jacob van Ruisdael, Jan van Goyen (1595-1656), Paulus Potter (1625-54) and Gerard ter Borch (1617-81) were popular with these collectors. Cuyp did not at first attract their attention; the Italianate landscapes of Nicolaes Berchem or Jan Both seem to have been more to their liking. In 1764 (the same year Boydell had first published the engraving of the Bute Cuyp), the four-

²⁶J. Ingamells: The Wallace Collection: catalogue of pictures, i (London, 1985). National Gallery illustrated general catalogue (London, 2/1986). N. Maclaren: The Dutch school (London, 1960), pp. 82-91. P. Murray: Dulwich Picture Gallery: a handlist (London, 1980). Some of the equestrian portraits have a relatively straightforward provenance. See for example Chapter 4, note 29.

²⁷Such as Pierre Crozat (1665-1740), the Comtesse de Verrue (1670-1736), the Marquis de Marigny (1727-81) and the Comte d'Angivillier (1720-1809). See O. T. Banks: Watteau and the north (New York, 1977), pp. 60-105, and B. Scott's articles on these and other French collectors in Apollo, xcvi (1973), pp. 20-91.

volume Vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandais by Jean-Baptiste Descamps (1714-91) made brief mention of Cuyp²⁸ and 30 years later, in Galerie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands,²⁹ Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun (1748/9-1813) discussed and reproduced one painting by Cuyp from his collection. He had acquired this Italianate scene, Muleteers in a hilly landscape,³⁰ c. 1775. In the 1780s two Cuypts were obtained for Louis XVI's collection and are now among the seven pictures by Cuyp in the Louvre, Paris.³¹

The fashion for Cuyp, which accelerated during the second half of the 18th century in the Netherlands as well as in Britain and France,³² generated demand too great to be met by available authentic pictures. Consequently the appearance of an enormous quantity of falsely attributed works was

²⁸Paris, 1753-64. He seems to have used Houbraken's account (see p. 19 below) as one source, and did not identify Cuyp specifically as a cattle painter: "... ses paysages & ses animaux Sont d'une touche fine & d'une bonne couleur;" (ii, p. 180). Descamps was a painter and collector, peintre du roi and member of the Academie.

²⁹3 vols, Paris, 1792.

³⁰HdG 470b; op. cit., i, p. 9; engraved by J. Maillet (d 1788). Now in The Hague, Mauritshuis.

³¹HdG 332, 490. A. Brejon de Lavergnée, J. Foucart and N. Reynard: Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du Musée du Louvre, i, Ecoles flamande et hollandaise (Paris, 1979), p. 44.

³²See for example C. Apostool: The beauties of the Dutch school selected from interesting pictures of admired landscape painters (London, 1793); quoted in C. J. de Bruyn Kops: 'Kanttekeningen bij het nieuw verworven landschap van Aelbert Cuyp', Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum, xiii (1965), p. 171.

stimulated, and doubtful pictures were readily turned into 'Cuyp's' by the addition of forged signatures. Many were deliberate, later, imitations and pastiches, but there were also paintings by genuine assistants, pupils or followers, whose names had mostly been lost in Cuyp's shadow. A wrong impression of Cuyp's oeuvre, probably already formed while Cuyp was still alive, was certainly in evidence by 1718, when Houbraken published his account of him.³³ He singled out one picture of a livestock market ("beestemarkt") and one of a riding school ("pikeurbaan"), subjects that are now thought untypical of Cuyp.³⁴ It is known that a 'Cuyp factory' operated in Dordrecht later in the 18th century³⁵ and others may have flourished elsewhere, to keep the British and Continental markets supplied. The majority of Cuyp's works had probably left the Netherlands before c. 1850. When John Smith (1781-1855) published in 1834 the first catalogue raisonné on Cuyp, he counted 280 works, to which he added a further 59 in 1842. By the time Cornelis Hofstede de Groot (1863-1930) published the second catalogue raisonné, 66 years later, the total had swelled to nearly 1600 paintings. Present-day experts think fewer than 10% of

³³A. Houbraken: De groote schouburgh der nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1718-21), i (1718), p. 239. See also Chapter 4, note 1.

³⁴Both references were repeated by Descamps in 1754: "... l'un represente le Marché aux chevaux de Dort, & l'autre un Manège. Il en a peint tout les Chevaux d'après nature, ..." op. cit., ii, p. 80. Cuyp's oeuvre is discussed in Chapter 4.

³⁵See p. 246 below.

that figure are probably genuine.³⁶

1.2 CULTURAL IMPERATIVES

Why Dutch art came to be made as it was has not been satisfactorily explained by regarding the images merely as a 'mirror of reality'. Fromentin spoke for many when he wrote:

"Dutch painting ... was not and could not be anything but the portrait of Holland, its external image, faithful, exact, complete, life-like, without any adornment. [...] the great Dutch school ... seemed to think of nothing but painting well. It was satisfied to look around and to do without imagination."³⁷

It has to be acknowledged that the subject-matter's deceptiveness is enhanced by illusionistic effects produced through skilled use of oil paint, making the pictures even more tempting to take at face value. Constantijn Huygens wrote of contemporary landscape painters:

"In the works of these clever men, nothing is lacking but the warmth of the sun and the movement caused by the gentle breeze."³⁸

This quality of 'convincingness' is particularly appealing to modern eyes, partly because they are not attuned to the

³⁶The catalogues raisonnés are discussed on pp. 157-61 below.

³⁷E. Fromentin: Les maîtres d'autrefois (Paris, 1876); English trans. ed. H. Gerson: The masters of past time: Dutch and Flemish painting from van Eyck to Rembrandt (London, 1948), pp. 97, 108. See also J. Rosenberg, S. Slive and E. H. ter Kuile: Dutch art and architecture 1600-1800 (Harmondsworth, 3/1977), p. 240.

³⁸"Adeo sagacissimorum hominum operibus desse at veritatem nihil dixeris, nisi solis leporum, et aurae motum." Quoted in J. A. Worp: 'Constantijn Huygens en de schilders van zijn tijd', Oud-Holland, ix (1891), p. 117.

inherent symbolism and partly because of the pervasive influence of photography, which has conditioned ways of seeing and has established new standards for two-dimensional representations of the world.³⁹ De Jongh has observed in the context of still-life paintings:

"One of the most notable characteristics of 17th-century Dutch culture was its relentless addiction to taking everyday things and occurrences and either searching out their inherent deeper meanings (perhaps extracting a moral lesson) or, conversely, using them as vehicles to be loaded with ready-made ideas."⁴⁰

And writing about genre paintings, Sutton has observed that:

"Retrieving associations that lent art meaning in another time is always an imperfect business but rarely more so than when the art appears to be self-explanatory. The naturalism of Dutch art is compelling but potentially misleading."⁴¹

It is now widely accepted that such pictures are more than just finely crafted artefacts made with a high standard of technical skill, and that their 'realism' is neither simple nor neutral. 'Realism' is in any case an ambiguous and

³⁹J. Bruyn: 'Toward a scriptural reading of seventeenth century Dutch landscape paintings', Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (op. cit.), p. 84. See also S. Sontag, who called photographic images "potent means for turning the tables on reality". On photography (New York, 1977), p. 180.

⁴⁰E. de Jongh: 'The interpretation of still-life paintings: possibilities and limits', Still-life in the age of Rembrandt (exh. cat. by E. de Jongh, Auckland, City Art Gallery, 1982), p. 27.

⁴¹Masters of seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting (exh. cat., ed. P. C. Sutton, Philadelphia, Museum of Art; W. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen; London, Royal Academy, 1984), p. xiii.

slippery term, used in at least three ways in art-historical discourse: it can mean the representation of recognisable subjects through visual images that are constructed according to a perspective system, or other artificial conventions, whereby an illusion of 'likeness' is produced between the subjects as they might appear in the outside world and their two-dimensional images. This meaning is in contrast to 'imaginary' or 'abstract' depictions. Realism can also mean art that deals with the quotidian, ugly or mundane: the opposite of 'idealised'; subject-matter that is naive or unsophisticated, a 'transcript' of actuality, sometimes referred to as 'naturalism'. And 'Realism' is a label for certain historical movements concerned with a self-conscious aesthetic, particularly that in France around Gustave Courbet (1819-77) in the 19th century. The Dutch historian Ivo Schöffer has observed:

"... the term 'realism' seems particularly apt as a description of that large proportion of visual art which was to remain the most loved or familiar of the golden century. Portraits, landscapes, still-lives and genre paintings have all the charm of sobriety and directness, of intimacy with common people and common things. [...] These were the pictures that evidently satisfied private purchasers, the merchants and officials, the farmers and shopkeepers, who wanted to ornament their homes and offices. They must have enjoyed the 'likeness' in a portrait, the 'realism' of flowers and street scenes. But this realism is to a certain extent illusory. Most of it had a much more contrived, intellectualized, playful intent than just to show what was 'really'

there."⁴²

In constructing naturalistic, illusionistic images artists had to decide how to employ directly observed elements, what licence to allow their imagination, what modifications to make to the outward appearances of the selected subjects and which conventions of representation to observe. These choices, which may have been largely unconscious, can be identified with what Carel van Mander (1548-1606) intended by "na t'leven" (after the life)⁴³ and what Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-78) suggested by "keurlijke natuerlijckheydt" (selective naturalism).⁴⁴ Van Mander contrasted "na t'leven" with "uyt de geest" (from the imagination) and recommended drawing from nature as a good discipline for young artists. Finished paintings were however expected to call upon imagined elements as well as introducing observation that had perhaps been recorded in drawings - hence van Hoogstraten's combination of the two approaches in "selective naturalism".⁴⁵ Van Mander's treatise, Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const, was separated from van Hoogstraten's

⁴²I. Schöffer: 'The Batavian myth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', Britain and the Netherlands, eds J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann, v (The Hague, 1975), pp. 78-101; reprinted in P. A. M. Geurts and A. E. M. Jansen, eds: Geschiedschriving in Nederland, 2 vols (The Hague, 1981), ii, pp. 105-6.

⁴³C. van Mander: Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const, first part of Het schilder-boeck (Haarlem, 1604), f. 9r. See also pp. 56-7 below.

⁴⁴S. van Hoogstraten: Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderconst, anders de zichtbaere werelt (Rotterdam, 1678), p. 238.

⁴⁵Dutch landscape: the early years (exh. cat. by C. Brown, London, National Gallery, 1986), pp. 30-33.

Inleyding tot de hooqe schoole der schilderconst ... by 74 years and yet there were few other Dutch 17th-century theoretical sources for programmes of aesthetic prescription.⁴⁶ Both works seem to have been inconclusively influential on practising artists, despite the efforts of later critics to find the schemes of artistic precepts matched by contemporary trends in artistic production. Perhaps the terminology did not offer artists an adequate basis from which to deal intellectually with the complexity of the relationship between pictorial and actual appearances or symbolic resonances, something that they engaged with spontaneously as they worked on the images.

The premises of artistic transformations of actuality into pictorial 'realism' were drawn from current opinions, beliefs, myths, ideas, conventions and practices. These factors, which are here called 'cultural imperatives', operated powerfully through the pictures, but they did not function in a single direction and their effects were not simple. The images moulded elements of the culture to which they belonged as much as they were informed by it.⁴⁷ To see the images only as

⁴⁶For a discussion of these and the other important texts, including Franciscus Iunius's De pictura veterum libri tres (Amsterdam, 1637; Dutch trans. as Schilder-Boeck behelsende de schilder-konst der oude ..., Middelburg, 1641) and Philips Angel's Lof der schilder-konst (Leiden, 1642), see J. A. Emmens: Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst (Utrecht, 1968).

⁴⁷Parallels can be contrived to compare with the ways modern advertising's visual messages work. See for example R. Barthes: Mythologies (London, 1972).

vehicles for received metaphors would marginalise the steps that had to be taken by the viewer to construct a 'reality' from the pictures. It would also underestimate what is conveyed by the term 'culture'. Gretton has called for pictures to be granted status and functions different from those formerly allocated to them by art-historical criticism.⁴⁸ They should no longer be presumed to be objects whose existence stands independently of their producers and consumers. Rather, recognition of them and their meanings results from their reciprocal mediation by producers and consumers.⁴⁹ Mitchell is another to have examined the cultural nature of image-making:

"... instead of providing a transparent window on the world, images are now regarded as the sort of sign that presents a deceptive appearance of naturalness and transparency concealing an opaque,

⁴⁸He argued it was necessary "... to view the totality of practices and artefacts which constitute culture [...] as constituting or constructing value systems, beliefs and ideologies, rather than reflecting or expressing them. [...] We can now see cultural forms as the space in which people came, and come, to understand the circumstances in which they live, rather than as the space in which such an understanding, achieved elsewhere by another process, is reflected." T. Gretton: 'New lamps for old', The new art history, F. Borzello and A. Rees, eds (London, 1986), p. 70.

⁴⁹This was recognised by Barthes in his observations on language and literature. To him, literature was, paradoxically: "an ensemble of objects and rules, techniques and works, whose function in the general economy of society is precisely to institutionalize subjectivity." R. Barthes: Roland Barthes (Eng. trans., New York, 1977), pp. 171-2. "... men recognized that their experience of the world is determined largely by their language, and that their ability to express themselves is determined by the culture in which they find their language. Seen in this light, language can no longer be taken for granted: it becomes, in Barthes's word 'problematic' - i.e., it reveals its own complicity in history; it is significative itself." G. R. Wasserman: Roland Barthes (Boston, 1981), p. 14.

distorting, arbitrary mechanism of representation, a process of ideological mystification."⁵⁰

These interpretations urge art-historical study to be concerned not only with the culture of which the art it investigates is a part, but also to be self-conscious about its own presumptions in relation to that art and culture. The old notion that art-historical study itself is a neutral activity leaves unquestioned the constructions and inventions it produces (such as the category 'art' itself), which in turn modify meanings of the art. The art is not a corpus of independent, self-contained objects, available for 'scientific' study, immune from the interpretations of the investigator. Hypotheses and paradigms are not generated and tested in 'ideal' laboratory conditions, as if conducted by neutral agents protected from the 'interference' of past and present-day attitudes. Applying this to the study of Dutch 17th-century art suggests that viewers' constructions of images then were, like the artists' creation of the images, part of an interactive process through which meaning was enabled to develop. Similarly, later viewers looking at 17th-century images 'construct' them, and thereby generate further versions of meanings. Hecht has commented:

⁵⁰W. J. T. Mitchell: Iconology (Chicago, 1986), p. 8. E. H. Gombrich has nevertheless claimed that, as "natural signs", visual images possess a privileged quality differentiating them from artificial "conventional signs" such as words. Mitchell has offered a critique of Gombrich's views over the last 30 years since Art and Illusion (London, 1956), and while taking him to be "probably the most influential commentator on the relative share of nature and convention in imagery" (op. cit., p. 77), disagrees with him on this fundamental point.

"... especially where the investigation of meaning is concerned, one can hardly be sufficiently aware of the extent and importance of what has been so aptly called the beholder's share."⁵¹

Cuyp's paintings contain and present cultural imperatives that are no longer self-evident, but ignoring these 'hidden' elements means accepting an incomplete basis upon which a reconstruction of Cuyp's original reception must rest. It also glosses over the conditions that characterised and influenced the production of his works. The purpose of what follows is to achieve a sound appreciation of a 'process', arguably of central importance to modern European culture, namely the mediation of observable actuality through aesthetic transformations of a powerfully illusionistic kind, to serve prescriptive choices at various levels of consciousness of choice, which in turn informed that actuality. The elucidation of cultural imperatives and pictorial metaphors will be employed to set up a critical standpoint sufficiently robust to tackle the following two questions. Why did cattle in landscape pictures, initially only incidental details, become a principal theme, establishing a successful 'new' specialty? And why did Aelbert Cuyp's mastery of this specialty eventually provoke such sustained and international admiration? The conventional description of Cuyp as a landscape painter who

⁵¹P. Hecht: 'The debate on symbol and meaning in Dutch seventeenth-century art: an appeal to common sense', Simiolus, xvi (1986), pp. 173-4.

often put cattle in his landscapes has in some ways hindered the study of his pictures of cattle, by giving too little attention to the fact that in his time the veestuk (cattle piece) became a discrete category, with important links to themes employed in still-life and genre pictures.⁵²

1.3 LANDSCAPE STUDIES

Most 20th-century studies of the lives and works of individual Dutch artists and of the different categories of Dutch art have devoted themselves to stylistic and formal commentary. Until recently it was not considered necessary to try to clarify the reasons for and circumstances of the initial and subsequent impact of 'realistic' landscapes produced by Dutch 17th-century artists.⁵³ But what motivated the portrayal and the enjoyment of Dutch 17th-century landscape subjects in their own time and what was found meaningful about them should not be assumed to be identical to later perceptions. The strong appeal of these works today reflects 19th-century preoccupations, which took for granted that the images were faithful descriptions of an everyday actuality that could be reliably inferred from the pictures. The possibility that other orders of meaning were being presented, which, though potentially accessible, were no longer obvious, was hardly acknowledged. Art-historical studies did not provide the missing analysis, partly

⁵²Precursors of the veestuk are examined on pp. 52-7 below.

⁵³For further discussion see Dutch landscape: the early years (op. cit.), especially pp. 24-34.

because, outside the Netherlands, Dutch landscape art was regarded by scholars as unproblematic.

Whereas genre, still-life, portraiture and history painting are now being analysed with increasing confidence for their underlying meanings and implications,⁵⁴ students of landscape still hesitate to take this path. E. de Jongh, a pioneer and leading exponent of the investigation of meanings in Dutch 17th-century art, admitted in 1987:

"Ik moet bekennen dat ikzelf het interpreteren van geschilderde landschappen nogal een waagstuk vind omdat de daarin gebezigde beeldtaal mijns inziens meestal een te weinig specifiek karakter bezit om er een coherente verklaring aan te kunnen ontleen. Maar ik sluit niet uit dat ik een onjuist en zelfs onhistorisch idee heb van wat in dit verband specifiek mag heten ..."⁵⁵

Stechow, who wrote the first thematic study of Dutch 17th-century landscape art, believed:

"... nature was now for the first time represented entirely for its own sake and

⁵⁴See for example Tot lering en vermaak (exh. cat., ed. E. de Jongh, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1976); Gods, saints and heroes: Dutch painting in the age of Rembrandt (exh. cat. by A. Blankert et al., Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1980-81; Detroit, Institute of Arts; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1981); Still-life in the age of Rembrandt (op. cit.); Masters of seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting (op. cit.); Portretten van echt en trouw (exh. cat. by E. de Jongh, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum, 1986).

⁵⁵[I must confess that I myself find the interpretation of painted landscapes rather a risky business because the symbolic language in my opinion mostly possesses too unspecific a character to permit a coherent explanation to be provided. But I do not rule out that I have an incorrect and even unhistoric idea of what specific might refer to in this context.] E. de Jongh: 'Binnenskamers de wereld doorwandelen', NRC Handelsblad, Cultureel Supplement, 23 October 1987, p. 3.

became a subject of painting in its own right. This fact [...] should not be underrated, the less so as landscape differs significantly from other new subjects of seventeenth-century Dutch art. [...] it was landscape and little else. It varied from decoration to cabinet piece, from stateliness to intimacy, from sociability to reticence, from gaiety to melancholy; but, again with few exceptions, it did not display – and hardly hid – symbolic elements, either by tradition or for any special effects, and where it remained tied to historical or contemporary events, it immediately seemed to lose something of its real identity."⁵⁶

In preserving the idea of Dutchness, this resistance to interpreting the scenes for underlying meanings, and the conviction that the manifest subject-matter should be taken at face value, are still common. Others have followed Stechow in relying on the often-repeated notion that, for a culture whose interest in the natural sciences was high, and at a time when the Dutch economy was in a prosperous condition, the 'impulse' to depict and enjoy 'realistic' images of the countryside and of the effects of light and atmosphere would have been unsurprising.⁵⁷ The controversy over interpretations of Jacob van Ruisdael's works illustrates the problem.

⁵⁶W. Stechow: Dutch landscape painting of the seventeenth century, (London, 1966), p. 11. See also J. Berger: Ways of seeing (Harmondsworth, 1973): "The first pure landscapes – painted in Holland in the seventeenth century – answered no direct social need. [...] Landscape painting was, from its inception, a relatively independent activity." p. 105.

⁵⁷For example A. G. H. Bachrach: 'Holland and Britain in the age of observation', The orange and the rose (exh. cat., London, Tate Gallery, 1973), pp. 10-18.

Of all the landscape painters of the period, Ruisdael has attracted more study than any other, from Goethe⁵⁹ to recent historiography including contributions by S. Slive, W. Wiegand, H. J. Raupp and E. J. Walford. On the whole the older sources offer fullsome admiration for Ruisdael's expressiveness and his exceptional fidelity to 'reality' (the analysis of that 'reality' is not recognised as problematic). Stechow was typical in believing:

"Ruisdael combined a dignity and a poetry, a never-wavering sense of pictorial truth and artistic honesty which makes the best of these works outstanding masterpieces of landscape painting of all time – midway, one is tempted to say, between the 'Dutch' and the 'universal'."⁶⁰

Rosenberg and Slive saw evidence of the artist's melancholy in the pictures, yet without any resultant diminution of the 'truth' in the depicted landscapes:

"Though Ruisdael's personal mood is unmistakable, no one has given a truer expression to the Dutch countryside in its modest grandeur."⁶¹

Even so, there have been attempts to discover underlying symbolic meanings in Ruisdael's pictures, particularly the Jewish cemetery (c. 1666; Dresden, Gemäldegalerie; c. 1668-72; Detroit, Institute of Arts), with its 'dramatised' imagery, generally taken to be suggestive of the transience

⁵⁹J. W. von Goethe: 'Ruysdael als Dichter', Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände (3 May 1816). Goethes Werke, xii (Hamburg, 1953), pp. 138-42.

⁶⁰W. Stechow: op. cit., p. 74.

⁶¹J. Rosenberg, S. Slive and E. H. ter Kuile: op. cit., p. 268.

of human life.⁶¹ There is less agreement about the Haarlemmpjes - Ruisdael's panoramic views of Haarlem⁶² showing bleaching fields against the townscape. Wiegand perceived connections with emblems that relate bleaching to the purity of the soul⁶³ but Slive rejected this "far-fetched notion".⁶⁴ Raupp too has pointed out the emblematic values of motifs such as trees and waterfalls, which frequently recur in Ruisdael's pictures, but his interpretations have not been sympathetically received.⁶⁵ Ruisdael's depictions of grainfields⁶⁶ have similarly provoked disagreements: whereas Fuchs deciphered the coded subject-matter (the growing wheat, fields, trees, light, shadow, atmosphere) as a deliberate assembly of items to

⁶¹For further discussion see Jacob van Ruisdael 1628/9-1682 (exh. cat. by S. Slive and H. R. Hoetink, The Hague, Mauritshuis, 1981-2; Cambridge, MA, Fogg Art Museum, 1982), nr 20; Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (op. cit.), nr 86 and E. J. Walford: Jacob van Ruisdael and the perception of landscape (diss., Cambridge, 1981), pp. 166-72.

⁶²For example Jacob van Ruisdael 1628/9-1682 (op. cit.), nr 44.

⁶³W. Wiegand: Ruisdael-Studien: ein Versuch zur Ikonologie der Landschaftsmalerei (diss., Hamburg, 1971).

⁶⁴Jacob van Ruisdael 1628/9-1682 (op. cit.), p. 129.

⁶⁵H. J. Raupp: 'Zur bedeutung von Thema und Symbol für die holländische Landschaftsmalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts', Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg, xvii (1980), p. 85.

⁶⁶For example Jacob van Ruisdael 1628/9-1682 (op. cit.), nr 30.

prompt particular associations in the viewer,⁶⁷ Slive disputed this.⁶⁸ Schama has decided to regard the bleaching grounds, windmills and grainfields as:

"... one heroic variation after another on ostensibly native subjects"⁶⁹

while Walford has cautiously observed that:

"... meaning [in landscape] is not a matter of reference to literature or symbolism, but of depicting the essential qualities of the landscape. These qualities are themselves of significance."⁷⁰

He has proposed that Ruisdael's works convey conventional ideas, influenced by religion, about "well-being in a mutable world."⁷¹

The different readings of Ruisdael's landscapes⁷² demonstrate the more general difficulty of devising convincing analyses of iconography that can be accommodated alongside discussions of Dutch cultural influences and within art-historical ideas about style and formal composition in landscape art. Recent general studies of

⁶⁷R. H. Fuchs: 'Over het landschap: een verslag naar aanleiding van Jacob van Ruisdaels Het Korenveld', Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, lxxxvi (1973), pp. 281-92.

⁶⁸Jacob van Ruisdael 1628/9-1682 (op. cit.), p. 94.

⁶⁹S. Schama: 'Dutch landscapes: culture as foreground', Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (op. cit.), p. 78.

⁷⁰E. J. Walford: op. cit., p. 2.

⁷¹E. J. Walford: ibid., p. 4.

⁷²Several of which are considered by Walford: ibid., chapter II, *passim*.

Dutch landscape art, though they have focused on apparently important features, have been disappointing for failing to account adequately for the role of cultural imperatives. Bruyn's "scriptural reading" has revealed a rich thread of underlying meanings and has drawn attention to religious and didactic associations to the landscape. By reference to biblical and related texts he has presented explanations of several seemingly 'natural' and innocuous features of pictures made in what was, he argued, a devout and puritanical society:

"It is the image of a transient world, where the lonely traveler, beset by sinful temptations, may hope for eternal bliss, after death. [...] It is mainly this idea and the limited number of stereotyped motifs that represent it, that give expression to an ever recurring, essentially religious belief."⁷³

His observations, though regarded by some as controversial, have offered encouragement for further interpretative analysis, which could probe further the possible religious influences. He has, however, specifically warned against studies that look to literary or socio-economic or agrarian history to help clarify the terms of the social relations of the countryside or the experience of nature:

"Such expectations [...] are rooted in the old and, to my mind, outdated assumption that the world represented in images is identical to the reality of a historical past and therefore rooted in the kind of realism defined in the last century."⁷⁴

⁷³J. Bruyn: op. cit., p. 100. See also C. Brown's review in Simiolus, xviii (1988), pp. 76-81.

⁷⁴J. Bruyn: ibid., p. 85.

In contrast to Bruyn, Schama's "patristic geography" of Holland, though just as concerned to be different from the 19th-century labelling of Dutch art,⁷⁵ has deliberately looked for connections between the:

"... peculiarities of Dutch geography and history and the revolutionary peculiarities of its landscape painting ..."⁷⁶

Schama has examined land reclamation and its effects on land tenure and investigated the patriotic sentiments associated with fishing villages. His account of the maturing self-confidence of Dutch urban society, with its prosperous economic base, has indicated more of the influences that could, plausibly, have informed the 'realism' of the landscape pictures. Neither Bruyn nor Schama has, however, provided satisfactorily integrated 'readings'. Bruyn has decoded and interpreted, giving a rich guide to the symbolism. He has clearly identified pietistic elements in the cultural imperatives. But he has not accounted for style, or for the differences in individual artists' handling of stock elements of subject-matter. Schama has anchored the art in its time and place but has evaded the analysis of day-to-day social relations ('class' biases,⁷⁷ in modern terminology). Each has thereby left too vague an explanation of the power of the pictures to provoke constructions and reconstructions of actuality, at the time

⁷⁵S. Schama: op. cit., p. 70.

⁷⁶S. Schama: ibid., p. 64.

⁷⁷See also pp. 170 and 175 below.

and thereafter.

Of possible interest therefore are the ideas of John Barrell⁷⁸ (and Raymond Williams)⁷⁹ concerning meanings in English 18th-century landscape art. They account for the apparent realism of the pictures in terms of a specific need to shape and uphold urban and ruling class myths about the countryside and the life of the rural poor. In this construction landscape art is seen as both guide and accomplice in a deliberate (and successful) attempt to portray the social relations of the countryside. It maintains urban fictions about rustic 'natural order' and 'stability' and the place of work and leisure in the life of the poor. A significant part of landscape and rural subject art in the 18th century, they argue, was devoted to moulding and upholding the attitudes of the dominant classes to rural life. It asserted an actuality through images that, though 'naturalistic', were not neutrally descriptive. Since Dutch 17th-century landscape painting in general and Aelbert Cuyp's works in particular are acknowledged as powerful influences on that English 18th-century art, it is possible that Barrell's ideas may be tested, with appropriate modifications, against Cuyp. There may be grounds for regarding the reception of his works by his Dordrecht

⁷⁸J. Barrell: The dark side of the landscape (Cambridge, 1980) and his earlier work: The idea of landscape and the sense of place, 1730-1840 (Cambridge, 1972).

⁷⁹R. Williams: The country and the city (London, 1973).

contemporaries on a similar basis. Differences between Dutch 17th-century and English 18th-century conditions were, of course, substantial; yet there are evident parallels in the subject-matter and naturalistic illusionism of the images, which invite closer study.⁸⁰

1.4 CUYP'S CATTLE

Cuyp's distinctive presentations of cattle are usually assumed to be a predictable and even inevitable development within the prevailing traditions of naturalistic and Italianate landscape painting practised by Dutch artists. But such hindsight does not do justice to the cultural and aesthetic transformations he achieved through the veestuk. This study suggests it would be helpful to retrieve Cuyp's cattle from the general category of landscape painting and regard them as belonging in a discrete veestuk group.⁸¹ Cuyp painted several types of landscape subjects, with and without cattle, and it is not clear that the cattle pictures were regarded at the time as his particular 'line'. They invite special attention, though, because of the insights their interpretation may lend to a fuller understanding of

⁸⁰This is discussed further below, in particular on pp. 175-8. See also for example The shock of recognition: the landscape of English Romanticism and the Dutch seventeenth century (exh. cat., The Hague, Mauritshuis, 1970-71; London, Tate Gallery, 1971).

⁸¹The veestuk is discussed further in Chapter 2. The first substantial attempt to examine the development of the veestuk was presented in the exhibition Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1988; Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, 1988-9).

the veestuk. Cattle images have a long and interesting history extending back to the earliest times, which provides a number of pointers for deducing their possible functions in differing subsequent cultural circumstances. The Dutch made deliberate use of the iconographically rich potential of this seemingly banal (to modern eyes) motif. Cattle symbolised concepts, beliefs and notions of significance to individual viewers and to the social order. **Chapter 2** surveys the history of uses and meanings of cattle images and analyses the specific features found in Dutch 17th-century examples.

In a society whose materialism and economic stratification were pronounced, mythological and religious associations to cattle images were used to produce resonant, countervailing, moralising messages. They drew on a fittingly modest, everyday, vocabulary, though one firmly connected to the nostalgic literature of the Golden Age. Nature could thus be seen as self-yielding, mankind belonged rightfully in the order of creation and work and urban life itself were unknown.

Though some may prefer to think that:

"Like landscapes, the majority of cattle pieces defy attempts at iconological interpretation. Dumb cows in a delightful landscape are usually just that, and as a rule do not have anything profound to

communicate to the beholder"⁸²

the pictures with cattle do offer clues about the kinds of symbolism being observed: their emblematic affinities bear analysis. Although it is by no means the intention of this study to press iconological readings to the point of absurdity, even the most prosaically 'ordinary' examples could still have had the potential to signify multiple layers of meanings. Cuyp's cattle pictures contain much that certainly was based on direct observation, yet they also display inventions from the artist's imagination. The label 'realistic' is therefore not a safe one if it implies the images are neutrally descriptive reports of particular animals, places or moments. Samuel Ireland wrote:

"[Cuyp's] close attention to nature in his landscape, and nice discrimination of character in his cattle, stand unrivalled; the mists of the morning, clear light of noon, and sombre tints of the evening, are all delicately marked in his pictures. His sketches were principally made from the neighbourhood of Dort, and are all faithful copies of nature, whom he has evidently not sued in vain."⁸³

But the relationship between the actuality of the outside world and imaginative yet 'naturalistic' fictions in the

⁸²S. van Heugten: 'Grazende modellen', Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), p. 35 (English trans. p. 272). Freedberg, however, has observed: "Both native landscape and the rural beast have acquired the status of the classical. [...] this elevation of the ordinary, the humbly rural and the comfortably indigenous, is one of the most distinctive and emphatic features of Dutch landscape art in the seventeenth century." D. Freedberg: Dutch landscape prints of the seventeenth century (London, 1980), p. 35.

⁸³S. Ireland: op. cit., i, p. 41.

pictures is not that simple. It cannot be appreciated merely by attempting to assess degrees of concordance, as if pictures could be 'measured' and found 50 per cent or even 90 per cent 'accurate'. Even so, what informed artists' individual arrangements of the observed and the invented is at the heart of the search for these works' meanings. As well as details of the iconography associated with cattle images and landscapes, therefore, information about the typical occurrence of cattle in Dutch 17th-century daily life is needed. The facts of the Dutch rural economy, the state of cattle husbandry and dairy farming and, importantly, town dwellers' likely perceptions of and relations to these phenomena need to be taken into consideration. **Chapter 3** deals with these matters, paying particular attention to the likely appearance and condition of the cattle. It will be shown that the cattle in the pictures differ significantly from descriptions of cattle derived from other contemporary documentary sources.

For him to have ensured that his naturalistic reconstructions of everyday actuality succeeded in serving and influencing the cultural imperatives of his milieu, Cuyp would have called upon a certain amount of established symbolism: there was available a ready-made 'language' of literary, moralising and religious motifs. **Chapter 4** looks in detail at selected pictures of cattle by Cuyp, in search of these underlying patterns in the imagery, and proposes that, even allowing for his individual preferences and

matters of technique, it is improbable that each invention was a purely random or unconscious production. For example, the repetitions and reiterations found in the depiction of the staffage: the human figures in the pictures declare a social distance between, say, a mounted, well-dressed burger and deferential, humble, barefoot herders or milkmaids, while at the same time asserting a 'natural' equilibrium of such social relations. The peasants are shown as carefree and content, not oppressed by hard work or poverty, nor in militant mood. Yet the compositions could be revealing of 'polite' biases⁹⁴ if these images of poor people manipulated actuality in order to maintain certain (fictional) perceptions the dominant classes had of the status quo.

As regards the cattle in Cuyp's pictures (often described as 'monumental' and 'placid') their sheer bulk and their calm disposition bolster an unquestioned presumption of timeless stability. They seem symbolically to provide solid foundations for the social relations around them. The settings are indicative too: in the Italianate pictures with cattle by artists such as Karel Dujardin (1622-78) and Jan Asselijn, 'southern' climate and topography provide the location for figures whose pastoral or classical identities are conventional and therefore explicit. The cattle also have appearances more fitting in the literary landscapes of the Mediterranean than northern pastures. On the other hand,

⁹⁴J. Barrell: op. cit. (1980), pp. 17-18.

the 'Dutch' cattle pictures by Paulus Potter and others show countryside that is 'local'; the cattle are close enough to indigenous livestock and the human figures are attired according to identifiable codes of contemporary clothing.⁸⁵ These Dutch and Italianate conventions offered Cuyp polarities within which stock motifs could be selected and blended; in Cuyp's works there is evidence that he progressively blurred these distinctions between stereotypes. In his depictions of cattle indoors in barns or stables - stalinterieurs - he followed the compositional conventions of this discrete picture type, whose strong visual links to genre scenes of domestic interiors and to kitchen and market still-lives through specific subject-matter (such as items of food or utensils) show that there was scope to accommodate cattle images within the vocabulary of moralising and entertaining messages now acknowledged to have been employed in those types.⁸⁶ By extension, the probability that cattle in landscapes were pressed into service to carry emblematic meanings seems likely. The absence of sufficiently unequivocal empirical data means this question cannot be resolved by investigation alone: it is necessarily also a matter of arguments and opinion. But attempts to retrieve details of 17th-century cultural imperatives can be very fruitful, and it is worthwhile

⁸⁵Examples are cited in Chapter 4, note 39. See also Chapter 3, note 126 on Potter.

⁸⁶See Masters of seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting (op. cit.), pp. xxi-xxv and E. de Jongh: op. cit. (1982), pp. 27-37.

studying carefully the individual circumstances of the artist himself.

In Cuyp's case there is as yet insufficient archival research to permit a precise biography to be written confidently, one that disentangles facts from surmise.⁸⁷ We are a considerable way from being sure of his artistic training and development, his working methods, studio arrangements⁸⁸ or commissions. It is not clear whether Cuyp himself concentrated principally on supplying the burgerlijk demand for inexpensive landscapes on the open market or preferred the patronage of a few wealthy patrician customers.⁸⁹ His precise oeuvre remains controversial. The Cuyp family had been practising painters in Dordrecht for three generations before Aelbert. The main figures are his grandfather Gerrit Gerritszoon (1565-1644), a glass painter

⁸⁷For example, accounts of his personal financial and public status usually allege that he stopped painting aged 40, after his marriage. This is questionable but, through frequent repetition, has contributed to the unreliable picture of him that has come down to us. Schama is typical in asserting that "...Cuyp the painter and son of a painter became Cuyp the patrician and the father of patricians, dissolving into the cultural landscape of his own inventions." op. cit., p. 82. This is considered on pp. 218-21 below.

⁸⁸Richard Farington, possibly an ancestor of Joseph Farington (see p. 10 above), was active as a landscape painter in Dordrecht in Cuyp's day. He may have been the first English artist to know Cuyp at first hand and to be directly influenced by his work. See Appendix 4 on the Farington family and Richard Farington's Dordrecht activities and possible involvement with Cuyp.

⁸⁹Archival evidence suggests that his pictures were bought and owned by Dordtenaars from a range of social groups; see pp. 221-2 below.

and coarse painter, his father, Jacob Gerritszoon (1594-1651/2), a painter of portraits and animal subjects, and his uncle Benjamin (1612-52), a history painter. **Chapter 5** presents the known facts about the family and their circumstances, with a view to revealing the artistic, cultural and economic influences Aelbert Cuyp may have been subject to.

Dordrecht, one of the oldest Dutch towns, was in the 17th century an important commercial and political centre. Its location close to the southern Netherlands had attracted many immigrants, especially since the late 16th century. Its island position at the heads of the Rivers Rhine and Maas (Meuse) placed it at a pivot of trade routes (especially for Rhine wine, for timber and grain) between landlocked Europe and the world beyond. It was the seat of the Synod of 1618-19, which debated the religious quarrel between the patrician, republican Arminians and the more 'populist', pro-Orange Gomarists.⁹⁰ Two of its more famous families were the Trips and the de Witts; the popular writer Jacob Cats (1577-1660) was its Pensionaris from 1623 to 1636.⁹¹ As an artistic centre, although it is not now talked about in the same breath as Amsterdam, Haarlem, Utrecht, Leiden or Delft,

⁹⁰Also called the Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants. See Chapter 5, note 53 for Cuyp's Gomarist connections. On the Synod see Chapter 5, note 32 and W. van 't Spijker et al.: De synode van Dordrecht in 1618 en 1619 (Houten, 1987).

⁹¹See Chapter 5, note 112 (Trip), Chapter 4, note 41 (de Witt) and Chapter 5, note 90 (Cats).

it certainly had a very active art life, not only in the middle two quarters of the 17th century but thereafter. It was the home of two of the most important Dutch writers on art: Samuel van Hoogstraten⁹² and his pupil Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719).⁹³ It was one of the first centres where the painters broke away from the craft-dominated St Lucasgilde.⁹⁴ A particular feature of Dordrecht's artistic community in the later part of the century was the number of individuals who had been pupils of Rembrandt in Amsterdam and had then returned to Dordrecht, including Samuel van Hoogstraten, Nicolaes Maes (1634-93), Aert de Gelder (1645-1727) and Jacobus Leveck (1634-75).⁹⁵ Several Dordrecht painters other than Aelbert Cuyp produced landscapes and animal subjects: Houbraken mentions the van Calraet and van der Leeuw families.⁹⁶

⁹²See pp. 230-31 below.

⁹³See pp. 249-50 below.

⁹⁴In 1642 Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp was one of the instigators in the founding of the new Confrerie. See p. 240 below and G. J. Hoogewerff: De geschiedenis van de St Lucasgilden in Nederland (Amsterdam, 1947), pp. 185-205.

⁹⁵Other artists associated with Dordrecht are discussed in Chapter 6. They included Ferdinand Bol (1616-80), another Rembrandt pupil, who remained in Amsterdam; Godfried Schalcken (1643-1706), a pupil of Gerrit Dou; Hubert van Ravesteyn (1638-?1691); Paulus Lesire (1616-after 1656); Jan Olis (1610-76); and Pieter van Hulst (1651-1727), a painter of flower still-lives, who inherited his father's important picture collection, described in Appendix 4, note 10. See W. Sumowski: Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler, 3 vols (Landau, 1983), ii, pp. 1154-277 (de Gelder), iii, pp. 1711-43 (Lesire), pp. 1744-63 (Leveck) and pp. 1951-2174 (Maes).

⁹⁶A. Houbraken: op. cit., iii (1721), pp. 179, 181, 292. See also Appendix 7, pp. 293 and 294 below.

After the 1670s artistic production in the Netherlands has been described as having lost its freshness, a change that is conventionally taken as signalling the ending of the 'Golden Age', but this does not mean that all artists suddenly found themselves out of work. To understand the realignment of cultural values and taste, **Chapter 6** follows the art life of Dordrecht through into the 18th century. By the 1730s a new fraternity of artists had been founded by Aert Schouman (1710-92), an admirer of Cuyp and pupil of Houbraken's pupil Adriaen van der Burgh (1693-1733).⁹⁷ Later in the 18th century Abraham van Strij (1753-1826), one of Dordrecht's leading artists, founded a new painting academy called 'Pictura', and his brother Jacob van Strij (1756-1815) was strongly drawn to Aelbert Cuyp's work and made literal as well as free copies, suggesting that many of Cuyp's works were still in Dordrecht hands over 100 years after they had been created. At the sale in 1785 of Johan van der Linden van Slingeland's large collection in Dordrecht, 38 works were attributed to Cuyp.⁹⁸

During the 18th century cattle were not an unusual subject for Dutch artists: as well as van Strij and other cattle

⁹⁷Schouman's watercolours included landscapes, country house subjects, series of birds and animals, and views of Dordrecht - one of which was a direct copy of a Cuyp painting. See p. 244 below.

⁹⁸The range of prices indicates that by then not all were accepted as genuine. See Chapter 6, note 83 and S. Reiss: op. cit., p. 212.

painters in Dordrecht,⁹⁹ Jan van Gool (1685-1763), Paulus Constantijn Lafargue (1729-82), Willem Rutgaart van der Wal (1756-1813), Jan Kobell II (1778-1814) and Hendrik Willem Schweikhardt (1746-97) produced cattle pictures that were highly marketable.¹⁰⁰ Though Cuyp's original paintings were often taken as models, and his example stands clearly as one source of the veestuk, the allegorical meanings they had had for 17th-century observers may no longer have been apparent to 18th-century eyes.¹⁰¹

The symbolic content of Dutch 18th-century landscape art was probably less intricate than that of the previous century, 18th-century taste having shifted away from didactic and moralising purposes. The naturalistic depiction of cattle persisted in Dutch 18th- and 19th-century works but, despite superficial similarities, the art was concerned with different objectives, just as it must be supposed town dwellers' perceptions of rural life and cattle husbandry had changed. Images continued to play their part in mediating cultural imperatives, though now they provided reflections of, and informed, a taste that favoured a visual language

⁹⁹See Appendix 7.

¹⁰⁰Schweikhardt was active in The Hague (where he knew Schouman) and London and supplied a copy of Paulus Potter's Young bull to Boydell in 1786. See E. J. Sluijter: 'Hendrik Willem Schweikhardt (1746-1797); een Haagse schilder in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw', Oud-Holland, lxxxix (1975), pp. 142-212.

¹⁰¹See pp. 149-50 below. See also note 23 above on the rise of the livestock painting tradition.

relieved of the burden of moralising messages. The subtle interaction between description and prescription gave way to an increasingly superficial, decorative illusionism,¹⁰² and the potential to replicate culturally inspired notions of actuality was no longer so purposefully explored. A different sentiment fuelled this later vogue for representations of cattle: perhaps a taste for unmitigated reassurance aided by nostalgic imagery of a dreamt-of past and the 'golden age' of Holland's 'Golden Age'.

Cuyp's later posthumous reputation, for all its grandeur, has clouded understanding of his aesthetic by distracting attention from the study of his initial standing. Without such an investigation it is difficult to see why the vision of a provincial master such as he was should have contributed so strongly to the transformation of Dutch 17th-century art. And it is hard to comprehend why English 18th-century artists and buyers should have found his

¹⁰²Hecht has commented: "The constant confusion about realism in Dutch art [...] can only be understood, and in the end done away with and avoided, if we are willing to investigate the eighteenth and nineteenth century attitudes that began by criticising the depiction of low life and the degree of vulgarity in Dutch art, only to end by cultivating these very aspects as faithfulness to nature and an ideal alternative to aristocratic taste and doctrine." op. cit., p. 174.

achievements so instructive.¹⁰³ The present study argues that Cuyp's pictures of cattle deviated from neutrally descriptive accounts in ways that were intended to acknowledge then current burgerlijk and patrician notions of rural life. In this way they re-presented the facts of cattle husbandry to fit an idealised, urban viewpoint. The pictures reinforced well-to-do town dwellers' fantasies about stability, unity, harmony, peace and plenty at a time when, paradoxically, uncertainty and what Schama has called 'embarrassment' were prominent sentiments.¹⁰⁴ The appeal of the pictures lay, at one level, in their function as a corrective and an antidote to observable actuality. Their seeming naturalism permitted the pictorial 'reality' to become an imaginative substitute for uncomfortable aspects of the real world. They also maintained the habit of reconstructing visual perceptions through wishful thinking¹⁰⁵ mediated by a vocabulary of generally understood signs. In this context, the value of cattle as symbols and

¹⁰³Constable, for example, in one of his lectures on the history of landscape painting (London, 9 June 1833), said "...Chiaroscuro is by no means confined to dark pictures; the works of Cuyp, though generally light, are full of it. It may be defined as that power which creates space ..." C. R. Leslie: Memoirs of the life of John Constable esq.. R. A. (London, 1843/ rev. 1944), p. 334.

¹⁰⁴S. Schama: The embarrassment of riches (London, 1987), p. 8. See also I. Schöffer: 'Did Holland's Golden Age coincide with a period of crisis?', Acta Historiae Neerlandica, i (1966), pp. 82-107.

¹⁰⁵K. Clark identified "... the emotion on which the existence of landscape so largely depends; the desire to escape from the turmoil of the cities into the peace of the countryside." Landscape into art (London, 1949), p. 7.

the rise of the veestuk was no chance happening but the purposeful reactivation of an ancient emblem of property and natural bounty.

The enduring importance of cattle as subject-matter may be inferred from the occurrence of images of them in the artefacts of numerous time periods, regions and peoples. Early examples come from ancient Mediterranean, Asian and Indian cultures, in the form of rock paintings, carved reliefs and free-standing sculpture, painted tomb decorations, cylinder seals, wooden, ivory and alabaster carvings, mosaics, gold, silver and bronze statuary, vessels and coins, ornamented iron implements, decorated ceramics and glass and woven textiles.¹ In Europe, from the middle ages, cattle images survive in a variety of painted and graphic forms: altarpieces and frescoes, manuscript illuminations and illustrated books; and, following the development of printing, in maps and topographical and political prints. It was in the 17th century, with the rise of landscape as an independent genre in Dutch art, that easel paintings, drawings and prints of cattle noticeably increased in frequency and had become common by the 1650s. They were identified as a new speciality: subsequently called the veestuk.²

¹Selected examples are described on pp. 57-61 below.

²The term was first used by Simon Gorter in 1869 to describe the work of the French Barbizon school painter Constant Tryon (1810-65). Woordenboek der nederlandse taal, xviii (The Hague, 1958), col. 1038. See also A. Chong: 'In 't verbeelden van slachtdieren', Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), pp. 56-7.

2.1 PRECURSORS OF THE VEESTUK

The following six works, made between 1500 and 1615 by leading European artists, may be seen as conspicuous antecedents of the Dutch 17th-century veestuk, on account of their deliberate and naturalistic focus on cattle and their links with certain iconographic traditions. Forest fire,^[1]³ by Piero di Cosimo (c. 1462–?1521), shows a golden coloured ox positioned centrally in the foreground of a landscape. A cow is in the background and two others on the right run away, a male and a female. The subject of the painting is the discovery of fire, a mythical account of the origins of man's superiority over the rest of the animals.⁴ About five years after Piero made that piece the Netherlandish artist Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533) produced a cattle picture as an engraving called The milkmaid.^[2] It shows a large cow of unbroken colour in profile in the centre, with two others in the background. They stand in a farmyard with a herdsman on the left and a milkmaid on the right. The representation of the animals and figures, apparently naturalistic, but rather stiffly posed, probably carries meanings concerning the

³Superscript numbers in square brackets refer to illustrations listed in Appendix 1, pp. 269–78.

⁴Panofsky called it: "... one of the earliest real landscape paintings in post-classical art." E. Panofsky: 'The early history of man in two series of paintings by Piero di Cosimo', Studies in iconology (New York, 1939), pp. 51, 54–5. Clark described it as the: "... first landscape in Italian painting in which man is of no importance." K. Clark: op. cit., p. 40.

relationship between the man and the woman.³

Around 1530 Titian (c. 1487/90-1576) depicted a milking scene. A woodcut after it: Landscape with milkmaid and youth sowing^[3] shows cattle, sheep and goats, and a boy holding an empty pail, in a hilly landscape. A village with a church tower is placed beneath a craggy peak and further over is a fortified town, with a castle and another church tower clearly displayed on the horizon. A peasant woman on the right in the foreground kneels to milk a large cow shown in profile, its head turned away from the viewer into the picture. An eagle and a galloping horse can also be seen. This image, which appears superficially to be a secular one, could nevertheless have been regarded as containing scriptural meanings.⁴ A large fragment is all that survives from an altarpiece made between 1557 and 1560 for the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam by Pieter Aertsen (c. 1508-75). This Adoration of the shepherds^[4] was damaged in 1578 during the beeldenstorm. The fragment shows a large (89.8 x 59.2 cm), close-up view of a cow's face, red-and-white, with a shepherd's head above it and part of another figure above the shepherd. The theme of shepherds and the holy family

³The work has been interpreted as being about erotic intentions via a play on the word melken (to milk) and cited as "... the oldest genre image in North Netherlandish art, [...] a true forerunner of the animal piece." L. Wuyts: 'Lucas van Leydens 'Melkmeid', een proeve tot ikonologische interpretatie', De Gulden Passer, lii-iii (1974-5), pp. 441-53.

⁴See J. Bruyn: op. cit., p. 103, note 61.

together in a stable, with a cow and an ass, is taken from the New Testament.⁷

The return of the herd^[5] by Pieter Bruegel (c. 1525-69) is dated 1565 and shows large cattle of various colours (pure red, pure black, grey, black-and-white, brown-and-white, red-and-white) in the foreground of a panoramic autumnal landscape, being driven along a high, narrow path between trees. It represents October and November in a series of six paintings about the months.⁸ Roelandt Savery (1575-1639) is credited with the first profane cattle painting of the Netherlands,⁹ a Stalinterieur.^[4] It is small and round, set in a square frame (30.5 x 30.5 cm), with witches painted in each corner.¹⁰ It shows seven cows in a lofty barn, three in

⁷Luke 2:12, 16-17; see p. 66 below.

⁸The series was made for Nicolas Jonghelinck in Antwerp; four of the five other scenes have survived: The hunters in the snow (December/January), The gloomy day (February/March; both Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), The haymaking (June/July; Prague, National Gallery) and The wheat harvest (August/September; New York, Metropolitan Museum). See H. J. van Miegroet: 'The twelve months reconsidered: how a drawing by Pieter Stevens clarifies a Bruegel enigma', Simiolus, xvi (1986), pp. 29-35. E. van der Vossen: 'De maandreeks van Pieter Bruegel den Ouden', Oud-Holland, lxvi (1951), pp. 103-16.

⁹K. J. Müllenmeister: Meer und Land in Licht des 17. Jahrhunderts, iii, Tierdarstellungen in Werken niederländischen Künstler (Bremen, 1981), p. 47. J. Spicer: 'De koe voor d'aerde statt: the origins of the Dutch cattle piece', Essays in northern European art presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann (Doornspijk, 1983), pp. 251-6.

¹⁰The round shape is thought to suggest the world, ultimate oneness, and the four corner scenes the elements and seasons. Witches are an old motif for occult, supernatural forces that operate especially at times important for agriculture: the nights of the solstices and equinoxes. A. de Vries: Dictionary of symbols and imagery (London, 1974),

the foreground, two of them golden coloured, the third red-brown; three more in the shadowy middle distance, pure brown, red and black; and a grey one at the back walking out of the barn past a man who plays a pipe and leans on the open door. In the bright light at the front, one cow, with a rope tied around its front legs to restrain it, is being milked into a wooden pail by a girl with long fair plaited hair. She wears a red jacket and has a yoke strung off her shoulders. Another pail and a pair of keys are behind her. The second golden cow has a simple collar around its neck; it lowers its head to eat some straw and is pissing. A dog lies curled up at the front; nearby are a frog and some lizards. Elsewhere in the barn in shadow are sheep, goats and a carriage. A cottage seen through the open door across a yard is bathed in direct sunlight and two birds fly by.¹¹

These six works, because of their bold, explicit treatment of cattle and the associations their symbolism could have suggested, may be considered milestones, providing several

p. 504; Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), p. 113.

¹¹Erotic meanings may have been intended through the verbs pijpen and vogelen, both of which could mean 'to copulate'. See M. Royaltan-Kisch: Adriaen van der Venne's album (London, 1988), p. 105 and E. de Jongh: 'Erotica in vogelperspectief', Simiolus iii (1968/9), pp. 22-74. Similarly, keys could have been seen as a metaphor for the 'unlocking' of sexual experience. M. Royaltan-Kisch: op. cit., p. 101. It is possible that the juxtaposition of the frog and cow recalls one of Aesop's fables: see note 25 below. Paulus Potter's Young bull (1647; The Hague, Mauritshuis) also has a frog in the foreground, discussed in Mauritshuis: hollandse schilderkerunst; landschappen 17de eeuw (The Hague, 1980), p. 82.

parameters for Dutch artists making veestukken in the 17th century. Three out of the six have secular content (Lucas, Bruegel, Savery), two allude to erotic meanings (Lucas, Savery), one (Aertsen) and probably a second (Titian) carry scriptural meanings, one relates a myth (Piero) and two come from series (Piero and Bruegel). Three are broad landscapes (Piero, Titian and Bruegel), one is set in a farmyard (Lucas), two are milking scenes (Titian, Savery) and one is an interior (Savery). All of them depict perfect, well-built, sturdy animals (which are single-coloured except in Aertsen and Bruegel) and all except two (Piero and Bruegel) show them close up in precise, naturalistic detail.

Dutch 17th-century theoretical writings on the art of painting encouraged naturalistic depictions of cattle, taken from life: Carel van Mander, having described in Der grondt der edel vry schilder-const the appearance of cattle, their colours, shapes and stature and cited Virgil's references to them, counselled the artist on how to make correctly 'realistic' depictions:

"En wilde bedien in't leven verwen crachtich
Werft u Dieren nae t'leven/soo sal voeghen
Hem stracx daer by een welstandich benoeghen."¹²

In Wtbeeldinge der figuren he wrote:

"Als men oock uytbeeldt de Aerde in een
der vier hooft-stoffen wort haer daerom en
om dat het een swaer aerlich Dier is de

¹²[... and above all if you wish to paint powerfully in your life, then paint your animals true to life, and thus they will immediately add a pleasing appearance.] C. van Mander: Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const (op. cit.), f. 41r.

Koe by ghevoeght."¹³

Samuel van Hoogstraten, like van Mander a practising artist (though neither of them painted veestukken), wrote only a few words of advice to prospective painters of cattle:

"Het placht ons geen klein vermaak te zijn, in onze bloeiende jonkheit, de koetjes in't veld, zoo als zy lagen en erkauden, na't leeuen te teykenen, en hare manieren van leggen, gaan, staan, van ter zyden of in't verkorten, aan te wijzen ..."¹⁴

However, landscape and animal subjects, though not disparaged, were not rated highly by classicising theoreticians, who still regarded them as no more than subsidiary, background matter for the (pre-eminent) history paintings. It is not clear what result their prescriptions had, since the naturalistic presentation of cattle, and buyers' taste for the veestuk, developed strongly, ^{and was} perhaps at a peak between c. 1650 and c. 1675. The precursor images may have offered more directly influential examples than the texts.

2.2 EARLY IMAGES OF CATTLE

Meanings in palaeolithic cave paintings of cattle are

¹³[Also if one depicts the Earth as one of the four elements, the cow is added because it is a heavy, earthy animal.] C. van Mander: Wtbeeldinge der figuren; third part of Het schilder-boeck (op. cit.), f. 125r. See also p. 73 below.

¹⁴[In our blossoming youth it was of no small pleasure to draw the cows in the field, as they lay down and chewed the cud, to draw them true to life, and to demonstrate their ways of lying, moving, standing, from the side or foreshortened ...] S. van Hoogstraten: op. cit., p. 168.

difficult to establish. To call them 'art' begs questions about how their creators regarded the impulse to make representations of elements of their everyday and spiritual existence, and about what powers or functions they attributed to the images. To say from a distance of thousands of years that these images must have been found 'beautiful' or 'decorative' risks importing inappropriate concepts since the articulation of aesthetic values is a much more recent practice. Gombrich called the prehistoric (c. 15,000 BC) cave paintings at Lascaux:[⁷]

"... the oldest relics of that universal belief in the power of picture-making."¹⁵

In Clark's opinion the Lascaux cattle images were not

"totems"; rather the men of Lascaux were:

"... expressing a sense of admiration for animals, of humility in the face of their strength and speed."¹⁶

However, a more recent view doubts whether correct interpretations are yet being made:

"Franco-Cantabrian mural art has been studied for almost a hundred years, yet its significance largely remains a mystery. Until recently studies have focused on its aesthetic significance or its (supposed) magico-religious purpose connected with the fertility of game. The tendency today is to examine individual motifs and their varying combinations and to attempt to classify them according to date and geographical distribution. It is not easy to arrive at the correct interpretations. The explanations given by

¹⁵E. H. Gombrich: op. cit., p. 22.

¹⁶K. Clark: Animals and men, (London, 1977), p. 72. The appearance of the Lascaux cattle and their possible relation to domesticated breeds is examined in Chapter 3, on pp. 100-101.

Australian aborigines, who still produce rock pictures, not only show how mistaken European archaeologists may be in their interpretations, but how complex the reality may be."¹⁷

The evident difficulty in correctly understanding the meanings of prehistoric 'art' does, however, support the notion discussed in Chapter 1: that images are made within the context of specific cultural imperatives, which then may become obscure. The problem may be expected to arise whenever the symbols of cultures whose iconography is no longer accessible or familiar are encountered. Because of this, attempts to retrieve meanings in early cattle images are bound to be limited by the extent to which valid reconstructions can be made of actual and metaphorical functions allocated to cattle in the past. Even though 20th-century viewers may identify cattle in, say, Egyptian, Minoan or Gothic 'art', they cannot safely assume their apprehension of the subject-matter coincides faithfully with the original viewers' perceptions. The risk is compounded if they try to apply modern ideas about perspective, proportion, colour and composition or theories of style and aesthetics inappropriately to the old images. Whether or not today's observer perceives an image made a long time ago to be ugly or pleasing, suggestive of present-day meanings or obscure, it is necessary to search for the work's contemporary cultural value and to connect this properly

¹⁷Paleolithic art, British Museum, Department of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities (leaflet, London, n.d), pp. 1-2.

with the circumstances of the work's production.

Ancient peoples held cattle in high regard: the Egyptians associated godly powers with Hathor, mother and servant of the sun god Horus, often depicted in the form of a woman with a cow's horns and ears, or as a cow,^[9] and with Apis, the Memphis bull, of which there are also many surviving images.^[9] The Mycaenian culture of c. 2000 BC placed the bull at the centre of its spiritual practices, and Minoan artefacts are replete with bull images.¹⁸^[10] Other cultures of the Near East,^[11] the Indian sub-continent,¹⁹^[12] Africa^[13] and Asia^[14] also gave cattle a place in their spiritual worlds, but virtually no contemporary data unequivocally explain the purposes of these cattle images. Most interpretations are derived from later sources; for example Herodotus (c. 484-424 BC) included in his Histories descriptions of virtually all the then known peoples and lands,²⁰ and other ancient Greek writings also indicate pre-Christian ideas about cattle. Hesiod (fl 8th

¹⁸See also J. D. Evans: 'Cretan cattle-cults and sports', Man and cattle, A. D. Mourant and F. E. Zeuner, eds (London, 1963), pp. 138-43.

¹⁹The cow is still the most sacred animal to Hindus and is worshipped in its own right; killing and eating it are prohibited. Hindu icons show the bull to be a fertility symbol; Nandi was the bull on which Siva rode; Indra was the bull god of heaven, the controller of thunder, lightening and rain. J. Rawson, ed: Animals in art (London, 1977), p. 56.

²⁰He wrote of the Scythians, who flourished c. 900 BC, and, although nomadic, relied on cattle for their existence. Histories (English trans. H. Carter, London, 1962), bk 4:60-61, pp. 249-50.

century BC) advised:

"Get two oxen, bulls of nine years; for their strength is unspent and they are in the prime of their age: they are best for work. They will not fight in the furrow and break the plough and then leave work undone."²¹

Homer (fl 10th century BC) included many references to cattle in the Iliad, some in directly descriptive passages in the narrative, others as similies.²² In these early sources cattle are repeatedly represented as beasts of burden and of sacrifice,²³ and as an indicator of property and wealth.

2.3 MYTHS AND BIBLICAL SUBJECTS

Myths and legends became highly developed by the Greeks, and many of their texts have survived through later versions,

²¹Hesiod: Works and days (English trans. London, 1914), p. 35.

²²For example in Book II an ox is sacrificed: "King Agamemnon himself sacrificed a fatted five-year-old ox to the almighty son of Cronos ..." English trans. Harmondsworth, 1950, p. 50. Later, Agamemnon berates his beef-eating troops: "For shame, Argives [...] What of the boasts you made that time in Lemnos as you gorged yourselves on the beef of straight-horned cattle ...?" ibid., p. 151. Iphidamas's death leaves a widow far behind at home, for whom he had paid "a hundred head of cattle". ibid., p. 203. Two warriors fighting side by side are compared with: "... a couple of dun oxen straining at the ploughshare in fallow ground, each as hard as the other. With the sweat pouring out at the base of their horns, and separated only by the polished yoke, they press down on the furrow till they are brought up by the ridge at the end of the field." ibid., p. 253.

²³Livy (Titus Livius, 59 BC-17 AD) recorded: "... a sacrifice to Jupiter of three hundred oxen, and of white oxen and the other customary victims to many other gods." Ad urbe condita (c. 26 BC-after 14 AD); English trans. London, 1949; XII:10, p. 235.

Latin translations and medieval editions of lost originals. The fables of Aesop (fl 570 BC) came in part from earlier sources, including Hesiod and tales from Asia Minor and India, and convey their moralising messages through the anthropomorphic actions of animals.²⁴ Sixteen of them make their point through associations to the specific characteristics of oxen (such as their large size, their use as draught labour and as sacrificial offerings).²⁵

Ovid (43BC-18 AD) brought the important myths and legends together in his Metamorphoses,²⁶ and these stories were a major source of subject-matter for 17th-century (and earlier) artists. Cattle, often pure white or with other unbroken colours,²⁷ feature prominently in the stories of

²⁴The first English translation was printed by William Caxton in 1485 from a French edition. The earliest Dutch edition, by Edewaerd de Dene (1505-76/9), published in Bruges (1567) with 108 illustrations by Marcus Gheeraerts (1526-c. 1590), became the basis for later editions, such as one by Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) entitled Vorstellicke warande der dieren (Amsterdam, 1617). See also A. Pigler: Barockthemen, 2 vols (Budapest, 1956), i, p. 553.

²⁵For example in the fable of the frog and the ox the frog puffs itself up to try to be as big as the ox; in the fable of the dog and the ox the dog lies in the manger of hay and will not let the ox eat although it cannot itself eat the hay. Aesop's fables (English trans. G. F. Townsend; London, [1906]).

²⁶c. 1-8 AD; English trans. Oxford, 1986.

²⁷Graves explains: "The Argives worshipped the moon as a cow, because the horned new moon was regarded as the source of all water, and therefore of cattle fodder. Her three colours: white for the new moon, red for the harvest moon, black for the moon when it waned, represented the three ages of the Moon-goddess - Maiden, Nymph and Crone." R. Graves: The Greek myths (Harmondsworth, rev. 1960), i, p. 192.

Io,²⁸[¹⁵] Europa,²⁹[¹⁶] Heracles³⁰[¹⁷] and Minos.³¹ In the story of Jason and the Argonauts, in order to assess Jason's claim to the Golden Fleece, King Aeetes made him plough a field in testing circumstances.³²[¹⁸] Orpheus was one of the

²⁸Io, daughter of Inachus, first king of Argos, was a priestess of Hera. Zeus loved her and to hide her from Hera's jealousy turned her into a white heifer. But Hera was not deceived and sent 100-eyed Argus to watch Io. Zeus set Hermes to kill Argus but Hera then tormented Io with a gadfly, which drove her from land to land until she found rest on the banks of the Nile. Here she returned to human form and gave birth to Zeus's son Ephesus, who became king of Egypt and built Memphis.

²⁹Europa was Agenor's daughter. Zeus fell in love with her and turned himself into a white bull among her father's cattle. He had large dewlaps and small horns with a black streak between them. Europa was attracted to him and played with him by the sea. She climbed onto him and put flowers in his mouth and hung garlands on his horns. Suddenly Zeus swam away, abducting Europa, leaving the rest of Agenor's herd behind. He came ashore at Crete, transformed himself into an eagle and made love to Europa in a willow thicket. Agenor sent his sons in search of her.

³⁰The seventh labour of Heracles was to capture the Cretan bull, possibly Zeus in disguise as he abducted Europa to Crete, or the one Minos refused to sacrifice to Poseidon, which was the Minotaur's father. Heracles caught it alive in Crete and brought it back to Mycenae from where it travelled throughout Greece and settled near Marathon. Heracles's tenth labour "...was to fetch the famous cattle of Geryon from Erytheia, an island near the Ocean stream, without either demand or payment. [...] Geryon's shambling red cattle, beasts of marvellous beauty, were guarded by the herdsman Eurytion, son of Ares, and by the two-headed watchdog, Orthus." R. Graves: op. cit., ii, pp. 132-3.

³¹Minos, son of Zeus and Europa, became the king of Crete. He married Pasiphaë but reneged on his promise to sacrifice to Poseidon a beautiful bull that the god had sent him. To punish him Poseidon caused Pasiphaë to fall in love with the bull, as a result of which she gave birth to the Minotaur, part man part bull. Daedalus invented a labyrinth where the Minotaur was kept, devouring youths and maidens that were sent to it, until Theseus destroyed it.

³²"Grazing on the plain of Ares, I have a pair of bronze-footed and fire-breathing bulls. These I yoke and drive over the hard fallow of the plain, quickly ploughing a four-acre field up to the ridge at either end. Then I sow the furrows,

Argonauts: he was a poet and played the lute so exquisitely that animals were enchanted by the sound. He became a popular theme perhaps, also, because he later symbolised Christ calling the people to him.³³[¹⁹] The Persian god Mithras was supposed to have sacrificed a bull, which, by its death, created all life. The Romans adopted Mithraic beliefs and there are images showing the white bull, sacrificed reluctantly by Mithras, being transformed into the moon.^[20] The region of Arcadia in Peloponnese, Greece, became the ancient ideal of rural felicity and pastoral simplicity.³⁴

When the religious authorities dominated artistic patronage, the Old and New Testaments were the primary point of reference for European artists. The Bible contains several episodes in which cattle play a part. The account of the Creation tells of Adam's^[21] installation in the Garden of

not with corn, but with the teeth of a monstrous serpent, which presently come up in the form of armed men who I cut down and kill with my spear as they rise against me on all sides. It is morning when I yoke my team and by evening I have done my harvesting. That is what I do. If you, sir, can do as well, you may carry off the fleece." Apollonius of Rhodes: The voyage of the Argo (3rd century BC; English trans. Harmondsworth, 1971), bk III, p. 120.

³³E. Kirschbaum et al.: Lexikon der Christliche Ikonographie, 8 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1968-76), iii (1971), col. 356. J. C. J. Metford: Dictionary of Christian lore and legend (London, 1983), p. 186.

³⁴It influenced the subject-matter of landscape paintings inspired by the Roman Campagna and produced by Italian and northern artists in the 16th and 17th centuries. See pp. 82-3 below.

Eden,³⁵ the home of all the animals and plants. The Garden of Eden was also referred to as 'earthly paradise' (in contrast to Heaven, the ultimate paradise), a similar symbol to the Arcadian ideal.[²²] Genesis recounts God's decision to destroy the world but to save one man, Noah, and make him the root of a new race. Noah and the animals survived inside the ark; when the waters of the flood subsided, they emerged onto the land and Noah sacrificed an ox to God.³⁶ [²³]

Cattle were the subject of Pharaoh's dream, interpreted by Joseph: the seven lean cattle who ate the seven fat cattle stood for seven years of plenty followed by seven years of famine.³⁷ [²⁴] The Israelites had been led out of Egypt by Moses, who received from God the tablets of the law on Mount Sinai. During Moses's absence, the anxious Israelites asked Aaron for a god to lead them. He fashioned a young calf or bull out of their gold possessions as a throne on which the invisible god could sit. But the Israelites hailed the calf as an image of God and it was placed on a pedestal and worshipped in its own right.³⁸ Many other references to cattle occur in the Bible: the dietary laws prescribed which animals were permitted to be eaten: the cow, a cloven-hoofed

³⁵Genesis 1:24. Adam gave the animals their names (Genesis 1:20). 'Eden' is derived from the Hebrew for delight and 'paradise' from the Greek for park, garden or enclosure.

³⁶Genesis 7-8.

³⁷Genesis 40:1-36.

³⁸Exodus 32. Such thrones were customary, as those at the temples of Beth El and Dan erected by King Jeroboam I suggest (I Kings 12:28-30).

ruminant, belonged to the category of approved meat,³⁹ and procedures for slaughter insisted on the separation of blood from the body.⁴⁰ 'Fatted calves' were the animals meant for eating on solemn occasions, and prohibitions against eating meat and milk together were specified. Sacrificial roles were also important: bulls were often given to God as burnt offerings (holocausts) according to strict rules concerning their killing and presentation at the altar.⁴¹ Abraham was said to have possessed cattle;⁴² in the wilderness the Israelites captured 72,000 head of cattle from the Midianites.⁴³ King David's cattle were supervised by a named herder⁴⁴ and the tribes of Gad and Reuben were particularly associated with cattle raising.⁴⁵

The Christian New Testament recounts the story of the birth of Christ at a stable in Bethlehem in Judea, where shepherds and magi came to worship him.⁴⁶ [25] St Luke's gospel emphasises the role of the ox as a sacrificial animal and Christ's sacrifices, and this is thought to account for the

³⁹Leviticus 11:3-4.

⁴⁰Leviticus 17:11-12.

⁴¹For example Leviticus 1:1-9, 6:8-13.

⁴²Genesis 12:16.

⁴³Numbers 31:33.

⁴⁴I Chronicles 27:29.

⁴⁵Numbers 32:1, 4.

⁴⁶Luke 2:12, 16-17.

association of the ox with St Luke.[²⁶] Ezekiel's vision⁴⁷ [²⁷] is the source for the identification of the tetramorphs (man, lion, ox and eagle) with the four evangelists, from the 5th century onwards.[²⁸] St Luke became the patron saint of artists because he was said to have painted the portrait of the Virgin Mary.[²⁹] Artists named their guilds after him and images of bulls' heads with paint brushes and palettes became an established motif.[³⁰]

2.4 ASTROLOGIES, BESTIARIES AND EMBLEM BOOKS

The bull Taurus has been the astrological symbol of a constellation in the northern hemisphere since the early Greek astrologists first recorded the identities of the stars.[³¹] The most famous of the Roman texts was Ptolemy's Almagest (c. 140 AD). In the 10th century an Arabian astronomer, Al-Sufi (906-86), wrote an account of the fixed stars based on Ptolemy, and translations of Arabic works were known in Europe by the 14th century, via Sicily and Spain.⁴⁸ Medieval bestiaries provide another source of writings about cattle. These books are among the earliest European literature and were often illustrated; the first

⁴⁷Ezekiel 1:5-7, 10-11.

⁴⁸Eudoxos of Knidos (c. 400-347 BC) wrote a catalogue later used by Aratus of Soli (315-245 BC) in a poem called Phenomena about the heavens. Hipparchus (fl 190-120 BC) improved the catalogue while Eratosthenes (c. 276-c. 194 BC) linked mythological themes, such as the rape of Europa by a bull, to the stars in his poem Catasterismus. See J. Rawson, ed.: op. cit., pp. 66-9. The animal kingdom (exh. cat., New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1940-41), pp. 22-6.

known is the Physiologus.⁴⁹ They could include wild, domesticated and fabulous animals, described with their associated powers and symbolic significance, in an approach that combined the styles of astrologies, natural histories and the anthologies of myths and legends. Creatures such as the phoenix, unicorn and gryphon were shown alongside the lion, panther and other, sometimes exotic, wild animals, together with commoner domesticated varieties including oxen,^[32] the ram, goat, pig, horse, dog and cat.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ English trans. M. J. Curley (London, 1979). Thought to have been written in Greek, in 49 chapters, probably in Alexandria before 149 BC. It was translated into several European and eastern languages. Latin versions from the 8th century are among the oldest known. See T. H. White: The book of beasts (London, 1954), pp. 232.

⁵⁰One 12th-century Latin text translated into English says of cattle: "Juventus the bullock or ox is so called because, being used for tilling the soil, he begins to help man (juvare). Or it may be because among the Gentiles it was always the bullock and never the bull who was everywhere sacrificed to 'Jove'. Even their age used to be considered in choosing the victims. With Indian bulls the colour is tawny and the speed is like that of flight. Their hair grows against the nap all over the head. They can swing round their horns with whatever flexibility they want. They can repel every weapon by the thickness of their hides. They are endowed with such ferocious wildness that, when somebody catches them, they lose their minds with rage.

The Greeks call Bos the ox by the name of 'boan' and the Latins call these creatures 'triones' because they tread the earth underfoot like the stars of that name (Note: the Great and Little Bear were called Triones, since these constellations were supposed to resemble a waggon with the oxen harnessed to it). The kindness of oxen for their comrades is extraordinary, for each of them demands the company of that other one with whom he has been accustomed to draw the plough by the neck - and, if by chance the second one is absent, then the first one's kindly disposition is testified by frequent mooing. When rain is impending oxen know they ought to keep themselves at home in their stables. Moreover, when they see by natural instinct a change for the better in the sky, they look out carefully and stick their necks from the stalls, all gazing out at once, in order to show themselves willing to go forth ..."T.

Emblem books first appeared in Italy in the late 16th century and were at the height of their popularity in the Netherlands in the 17th century.⁵¹ These anthologies of words and pictures presented morals and proverbial ideas in the form of emblems designed to teach and entertain at the same time. Their messages were presented through everyday objects, sayings and customs.⁵² As their titles show, the subject-matter of the emblems could be categorised into military, political, religious, amorous and moralising topics. Symbolorum et emblematum centuriae⁵³ by Joachim Camerarius (1500-74) is a four-part work in which book II

H. White: op. cit., pp. 76-9.

⁵¹Landwehr found that in the 16th century over 50% of the emblem books were published in Italy and in the 17th century the Low Countries and Germany produced the most (31% and 28% respectively). By the 18th century, taste for emblem books had declined dramatically, the total number published in France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Low Countries and Spain together totalling 163, compared with 534 in the 17th century. In all, between the 16th and 18th centuries, the Low Countries produced 242 emblem books (30% of the total) and Germany 225 (28%); many of these were translations of Italian originals. J. Landwehr: Dutch emblem books (Utrecht, 1962); based on M. Praz: Studies in seventeenth century imagery (London, 1937-9). A recent catalogue, Emblem books, from Inter Documentation Company bv, a Swiss commercial publisher of data on microfiche, lists 773 titles of emblem books (including several editions of single titles).

⁵²The first emblem book, in Latin, was Emblematum liber (Augsburg, 1531) by Andrea Alciati (1492-1550). Its first Dutch translation appeared as Emblemata (Antwerp, 1565). Other important early examples include Devises héroïques (Lyon, 1551) by Claude Paradin (d 1573). Its Dutch translation, by W. Silius, was published with 217 illustrations as Princelijcke devijsen ofte wapenen (Antwerp, 1557). Dialogo dell' imprese militari et amoroze by Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) appeared in Rome in 1555.

⁵³Nuremberg, 1590-1604.

covers the four-footed animals; it presents five emblems dealing with the bull, based on Classical sources including Pliny, Julius Caesar, Livy and Plutarch.⁵⁴ Other works appeared in Spain and the Low Countries, Italy and Great Britain. Two of the best known Dutch 17th-century emblem books were Sinnepoppen⁵⁵ by Roemer Visscher (1547-1620) and Proteus ofte minne-beelden verandert in sinnebeelden⁵⁶ by Jacob Cats. Two of Visscher's sinnepoppen have text and pictures relating to cattle and dairying.⁵⁷

The Iconologia of Cesare Ripa (c. 1560-1620) was first

⁵⁴Heinrich Hövel's Neuwer wunderbarlicher thiergarten (Frankfurt, 1601) is another example.

⁵⁵Published by Willem Jansz. Blaeu with illustrations by C. J. Visscher (Amsterdam, 1614; ed. The Hague, 1949).

⁵⁶Illustrated by J. Swelinck after A. van der Venne (Rotterdam, 1627). Cats produced other emblem books, notably: Silienus Alcibiadis sive Proteus, vitae humanae ideam, emblemate trifariam variato oculis subijciens (Middelburg, 1618) and Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuwen tijdt (The Hague, 1632). See also p. 148 below and Chapter 5, notes 33 and 90. Samuel van Hoogstraten's brother Frans (1632-96) wrote two emblem books: Het voorhof der ziele (Rotterdam, 1668) and De schoole der wereld (Dordrecht, 1682).

⁵⁷'Met dees myne seghent God de Zyne' [With this of mine God blesses his own]. Bk II, nr 23. 'In de rommelingh ist vet' [The fat is in the stirring: "The Dutch (and other nations) in particular, who have meadows with a wealth of grass, churn butter from milk which their cows give and that happens with great stirring and movement which they make in such a barrel (in which they put the milk, with an appropriate stick), so that when selling their butter, they derive great pleasure from their land. Therefore it is usual that he who wants to be a merchant, will have to throw himself in the turmoil of merchanting among the merchants, if he wants to be rich; because profits are to be found among these folk: And if the clay covered foot gains something, the dusty foot does not."] Bk III, nr 9.

published in Rome in 1595; Dutch translations of the 1603 edition first appeared in Amsterdam in 1644 as Iconologia of uytbeeldinghe des verstants. This compendium of symbols contains allegories of the virtues and vices, sentiments and passions, using encoded symbolic images from Christian and Classical sources, and became an important handbook for artists in Europe. The code was deliberately not easily accessible, in order to preserve its own occult mystery and moral power.⁸⁹ Five examples from it that depict cattle are: 'Agricola' where the bull stands for the earth; 'Intrepida' where a youth holds a bull by the horns; 'Umbria' where a cow lies on a hill; 'Lombardia' where a beast with a man's body and a bull's head clasps a cornucopia; and 'Carestia' where an old poor woman stands in front of a cow whose udders are dry.

2.5 PATTERN BOOKS AND SERIES

Secular cattle images can be found in the pattern books made in the 16th and 17th centuries. These widely available collections of prints were assemblies of studies, usually with little or no text. Those by Joris Hoefnagel (1542-1600) were based on observations of animals and plants in Emperor Rudolf's exotic collections at Prague and published in four volumes subtitled with the elements: Animalia quadrupedi et reptilia (Terra) (1575), Animalia rationalia et insecta (Ignis) (1576), Animalia volatilia et amphibia (Aier) (1580)

⁸⁹E. Mandowsky: introduction to reprint of 1603 edition (New York, 1970).

and Animalia aquatilia et conchiliata (Agua) (1582).⁵⁹

Aelbert Cuyp's father, Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp, made a series of drawings of animals, engraved by Reinier van Persijn (c. 1615-88) ^{and published} as Diversia animalia quadrupedia ad vivum delineata a Iacopo Cupio,^[33] which shows the influence of Jacob's teacher in Utrecht, Abraham Bloemaert (1564-1651).⁶⁰ ^[34]

Books of hours were manuscripts made for rich or noble patrons detailing the daily programme of prayers to be observed by devout believers. They often included a calendar with the saints' feast days and other holy days, which could be decorated with miniature illustrations characterising the work associated with everyday life in each month. Recalling the zodiacal calendars with their symbols for each constellation and period, books of hours are another early source of representations of country life and agricultural work. Pictures that particularly feature cattle are linked to the month of April, when the influence of Taurus is dominant and when ploughing is done.^[35] A manuscript illumination from the Luttrell Psalter, a 14th-century English psalm book,^[36] shows four well-built and sturdily rounded horned cattle yoked in pairs to the plough. They are

⁵⁹The age of Bruegel: Netherlandish drawings in the sixteenth century (exh. cat. by J. O. Hand et al., Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1986), pp. 198-200.

⁶⁰See Chapter 5, note 33. Bloemaert's drawings of cows, like certain paintings by his younger contemporary Pieter van Laer (1599-?1642), are notable for the early prominence they give to the animals and for their independence from compositional conventions of overtly biblical subject-matter. See A. Chong: op. cit. (1988), pp. 58-9 and A. Blankert: 'Over Pieter van Laer als dier- en landschapschilder', Oud-Holland, lxxxiii (1968), pp. 117-34.

depicted in side view, and the harnesses are clearly shown. Of each pair one is pure red, the other is pure black. The nearest black animal is a bull, the nearest red is a cow. One of the two accompanying men holds a whip and walks beside the cattle, the other holds the plough.

Easel paintings and graphic works were also made as series for the months, seasons or elements,^[37] such as those by Jan van de Velde (1593-1641), some after drawings by Willem Buytewech (1591/2-1624). His engraving of Terra (Earth),^[38] which has an inscription alluding to nature's fecundity,⁴¹ depicts a cattle market on the edge of a town. Buytewech made a series of six drawings called De rechtspraak van Graaf Willem III de Goede,^[39] which tells the story of a peasant who obtained justice from the Graaf in 1336 in a dispute over the value of a cow.⁴² The drawings are made in

⁴¹"Terra suas ostendat opes et munera ruris/Setigeros que suos, ruricolos que boves/Donaque largitur que mittit divite cultu/Vel faecunda Hales vel rubicunda Ceres." [The earth displays its riches and the spectacle of the countryside, its bristly oxen. Fecund Hales or rubicund Ceres provide abundant gifts through rich cultivation.]

⁴²The baljuw (steward) of Zuid-Holland wanted to own the peasant's excellent cow but the peasant was unwilling to sell it so the baljuw had it removed and replaced by an inferior animal. The peasant petitioned the Graaf who ruled in favour of the peasant and ordered the schout (sheriff) of Dordrecht, the baljuw's cousin, to pay the peasant 100 gold crowns from the baljuw's property. For depictions of the same incident by other artists see H. van der Waal: Drie eeuwen vaderlandsche geschied-uitbeelding, 1500-1800: een iconologische studie, 2 vols (The Hague, 1952), i, pp. 267-80; ii, pp. 336-8 and G. van Rijn: Atlas van Stolk, 10 vols (Amsterdam, 1895-1903), i (1895), nrs 139-43. At about the same date as Buytewech's series, the Dutch writer Gerbrand Adriaenszoon Bredero (1585-1618) wrote a farce, De klucht vande koe [sic] (1612), in which a farmer sells a cow on behalf of a thief without knowing that it is his own cow,

a clear and naturalistic manner, the cow is obviously a fine and valuable specimen, the moral of the story undisguised. Another print by van de Velde linked to a drawing by Buytewech is The white cow,⁴⁰ with peasants taking animals to market in the early dawn light, the man riding on a cow. The inscription says:

"The night is hardly gone before this industrious countryman leaves for town with goats and cow. He carries chickens on his back. The heavy work is light for him as long as he comes home later loaded down with the money he has earned."⁴³

2.6 AGRICULTURAL TREATISES AND NATURAL HISTORIES

Agricultural treatises are manuals of husbandry, practical guides to the farmer about technical aspects of livestock and crop growing, which have been produced since ancient times. Hesiod's Works and days⁴⁴ is a farmer's calendar of tasks. The Carthaginian Mago (d 203 BC), brother of Hannibal and Hasdrubal and like them a military general, wrote a treatise that was translated into Latin and cited subsequently by many Roman and later writers as an authority on the selection and rearing of cattle.⁴⁵ Cato (Marcus

which the thief has stolen from him. G. A. Bredero: Kluchten (ed. J. Daan, Culemborg, 1971), pp. 12-15, 61-104, 216-23, 242-4.

⁴³"Impiger hic vixdum consumpta nocta colonus,/Rure suos haedos et vaccam pollit in urbem,/Gallinas portaris sumeris: labor arduus ipsi/Est levis ut possis multo gravis aere redire." I. de Groot: Landscape etchings by the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century (London, 1979), nr 70.

⁴⁴op. cit.: see note 21 above.

⁴⁵"... to give instructions for agriculture was an occupation of the highest dignity even with foreign nations, inasmuch as it was actually performed by kings such as

Porcius Cato, 234-149 BC) is the first Latin writer to have produced an agricultural treatise. His De agri cultura⁶⁶ is the oldest extant literary prose work in Latin.⁶⁷ It includes some remarks on the feeding of cattle, on remedies for sick oxen and a prayer for the good health of the animals. Marcus Terrentius Varro (116-27 BC) wrote on many subjects in prose and poetry including science, education and philosophy, but his De re rustica⁶⁸ is the only surviving work. Book II deals in considerable detail with the purchase, care and feeding of cattle, herd size and breeding. Columella (Lucius Juius Moderatus Columella, 1st century AD) entitled his own work Res rustica⁶⁹ and devoted book VI to cattle, with sections on breeding, feeding and fodder and remedies for sicknesses. On colour Columella

Hiero, Attalus Philometer and Archelaus, and by generals such as Xenophon and also the Carthaginian Mago, on whom indeed our senate bestowed such a great honour, after the taking of Carthage, that when it gave away the city's libraries to the petty kings of Africa it passed a resolution that in his case alone his twenty eight volumes should be translated into Latin, in spite of the fact that Marcus Cato had already compiled his book of precepts, and that the task should be given to persons acquainted with the Carthaginian language, an accomplishment in which Decimus Silanus, a man of most distinguished family, surpassed everybody." Pliny: Historia naturalis (77-78 AD; English trans. London, 1971), bk XVIII:5, p. 203.

⁶⁶160 BC; English trans. London, 1934. Known as De re rustica in early printed editions.

⁶⁷P. Harvey: The Oxford companion to Classical literature (Oxford, 1984), p. 94.

⁶⁸37 BC; English trans. London, 1934.

⁶⁹English trans. London, 1950-56.

cites Mago in favouring red or brindle cattle.⁷⁰ On the economics of cattle raising he says:

"... in the history of farming the system of grazing is certainly very ancient and at the same time very profitable, and it is on this account also that the names for money (pecunia) and private property (pecillium) seem to have been derived from the word for cattle (pecus), because this was the only possession which the men of old times had, and, even at the present day, amongst some peoples, this is the only kind of wealth in general use, and even among our farmers there is nothing which yields a richer increase."⁷¹

A later treatise, De re rustica, based on previous authors, was written by Palladius (Publius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus Palladius, 4th century AD) in 14 books, 12 of which cover the work of the farm, month by month.⁷² One further compilation of the Classical authorities was subsequently made in Spain by St Isidore of Seville (c. 560-630). His Origines⁷³ is an encyclopaedia in which book XII, chapter 1, deals with domesticated animals and book XVII covers agriculture. The Englishman Alexander Neckam (1157-1217) wrote De naturis rerum (c. 1180),⁷⁴ and it became one of the sources for later treatises, several of which appeared in Europe, such as Rei rusticae; libri quatuor universam

⁷⁰"... coloris rubis vel fusci ..."; ii, bk VI, part 1:3, p. 126.

⁷¹Columella: ibid., ii, bk VI, preface: 4, p. 121.

⁷²R. H. Rodgers, ed. (Leipzig, 1975).

⁷³Unfinished at his death; French trans. Paris, 1981.

⁷⁴London, British Library, MS Royal 12 F. XIV.

agriculturae disciplinam continentes ...⁷⁵ by Conrad Heresbach (1496-1576). Heresbach repeats Columella's comments on pecus and pecunius and their meanings; he says ancient writers associated wealth with golden coloured cattle⁷⁶ and notes the other associations too: to the names of stars (Taurus), mountains (Taurus) and seas (Bosphorus).⁷⁷

Natural histories represent the oldest 'studies' of cattle. Aristotle (384-322 BC) wrote about them in at least three of his works: Historia animalium, Movement of animals and Generation of animals.⁷⁸ His writings were translated and extended by Albertus Magnus (1206-80) whose De animalibus (c. 1220-45) includes Aristotle's three works together with

⁷⁵Cologne, 1570; dedicated to the Duke of Cleves; English trans. and ed. by Barnaby Googe as: Foure books of husbandry (London, 1577). The third book covers "... feeding, breeding, and curing of cattell", f. 111r.

⁷⁶"... the auncient writers, as wel Greekes, as Latyns, doo count the chefest wealth to bee in the numbers of sheepe, Cattell, and fruite: for which estimation the Cattell were supposed to be cladde in Golden Coates: whence sprange first the fable of the Golden fleece of Colchos." op. cit., f. 113r.

⁷⁷ibid., f. 113r. See also S. Gaselee: Natural science in England at the end of the twelfth century, Royal Institution of Great Britain, weekly evening meeting, Friday 4 December 1936 [London, 1936].

⁷⁸English trans. London, 1965; London, 1937; London, 1943. He observed that cattle had dark eyes, that the whole class was not variegated but sometimes variegated individuals were found and that in the female animal the voice was lower than the male's, unlike other species. He gave detailed accounts of physiology and anatomy and commented on temperament and habits, in the course of an encyclopaedic survey of the animal kingdom.

a treatise on comparative anatomy and a five-book medieval bestiary.⁷⁹ Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus, c. 95-55 BC) wrote De rerum naturae c. 58 BC; on the temperament of cattle he stated:

"Cattle ... have in their vital composition a bigger portion of calm air. They are neither too hotly fired by a touch of that smokey torch of anger which clouds the mind with its black and blinding shadow. They are never transfixed and benumbed by the icy shaft of fear. Their nature is a mean between the timidity of the deer and the lion's ferocity."⁸⁰

Pliny (Gaius Plinius Secundus, 23-79 AD) produced the third major natural history of the Classical period. His Historia naturalis⁸¹ in 37 books deals with a wide range of topics: the lives of plants and animals as well as physics, geography, metallurgy and mineralogy. Book VII, chapter 70, deals with oxen: their varieties, breeding, breaking in, life span, feeding habits, walking, alpine cows, yokes, bullfights and bulls for sacrifice. Chapter 71 mentions Apis, the bull god worshipped at Memphis. Aelian (Claudius Aelianus, b c. 170 AD) wrote a further work of this type: De naturae animalium,⁸² which drew on its predecessors as well as adding some new material. He repeated Pliny's statement that according to Theophrastus black and red cattle who

⁷⁹H. Gdler ed., 2 vols (Münster, 1916-20). Book XXII deals with man and the quadrupeds.

⁸⁰English trans. Harmondsworth, 1951, p. 105.

⁸¹77-78 AD; English trans. London, 1937-66.

⁸²English trans. London, 1958.

drank from the river Crathus turned white, and that Phoenician histories claimed cattle were so tall it was necessary to stand on a stool to milk them; and that Libyan cattle had learnt to walk backwards because their horns had grown in front of their eyes.

Many English treatises and natural histories were written in the 17th and 18th centuries (unlike in the Netherlands, where very few appear to have been produced in Dutch),⁸³ some based on Classical sources, others largely original works. For example Historie of foure-footed beasts⁸⁴ by Edward Topsell (d 1638) was a translation of Historia animalum⁸⁵ by Conrad Gesner (1516-65), which was itself based on Aelian's treatise. Others include works by the prolific writer on husbandry Samuel Hartlib (d 1670), such as His legacie, or an enlargement of the discourse on husbandrie used in Brabant and Flaunders shewing the wonderfull improvement of land there, ... (1651), Systemae agriculturae (1669) by John Worlidge (fl 1669-98), The first booke of cattel (London, 1587) by Leonard Mascall (d 1589) and The husbandman; farmer and grasier's compleat instructor

⁸³J. Jonston's Historiae naturalis de quadrupedibus (Frankfurt, 1655), based on Gesner (see below), was translated into Dutch by M. Grauius as Beschryvinge van de natuur der viervoetige dieren (Amsterdam, 1660), but the treatises by Martinus Schoockius (1614-69) on butter- and cheese-making: Tractatus de butyro accessit ejusdem diatriba de aversatione casei (Groningen, 1664), appeared in Latin only.

⁸⁴London, 1607.

⁸⁵Zurich, 1551-87.

(London, 1697) by Adolphus Speed (fl 1652). Some printed books on natural history and cattle husbandry included quasi-diagrammatic and idealised illustrations of cattle.^[41]

2.7 PASTORALS

An innovatory development in writings on agriculture and cattle arose with Virgil (Publius Virgilius Maro, 70-19 BC). His Eclogues⁶⁶ were published in the form of ten poems of pastoral incidents and encounters in which conversations between shepherds idealise their rustic life and preoccupations.⁶⁷ The Eclogues were taken up, particularly by later Italian and then northern European writers, as a model for plays, poems and stories about the lives and loves of pastoral people, idealising and romanticising country life. Pastoral literature was not intended to give accurate descriptions of the natural world or of work but to entertain town dwellers with elaborate allegories. Later pastoral literature taking the Eclogues as its inspiration had a great vogue in Europe: Il pastor fido⁶⁸ by G. B.

⁶⁶37 BC; English trans. London, 1978.

⁶⁷There are references to cattle and their worth, for example: "You scorn me, Alexis, and ask not what I am - how rich in cattle, how wealthy in snow-white milk." ibid., II:19. Damoetas wagers in the singing contest: "I'll stake this cow. Now don't draw back! She comes twice a day to the milking-pail, and suckles two calves." ibid., III:29-30. There is a reference to Pasiphaë: "happy one, if herds had never been! - with her passion for the snowy bull." ibid., VI:46-7.

⁶⁸Venice, 1590.

Guarini (1538-1612) was a source for a number of other works.⁸⁹ Pieter Janssoon Schaghen wrote a poem in Dutch called Bauw-heers wel-leven⁹⁰ and Hendrick Laurensz. Spieghel (1549-1611) wrote Hert-spieghel,⁹¹ an ode to his country house, which says:

"Soon cattle, full of milk, will daily be
sent grazing. / They loathe the mussy hay
and long for the fresh pastures / That
offer better feed, melting to fat and
butter."⁹²

Virgil's Georgics⁹³ too, although rich in genuine detail, was not intended solely or principally to instruct farmers but to celebrate in poetry the beauties and wealth of the natural world. It is in four books, the third of which is in part concerned with cattle rearing and combines practical advice with frequent reference to mythological and legendary sources, including the story of Io and Argus's white oxen pulling Hera's chariot. There is a vivid description of the affliction of cattle by an outbreak of plague.

The Dutch taste for arcadian and pastoral themes was

⁸⁹A. M. Kettering: The Dutch Arcadia (Montclair, NJ, 1983), pp. 19-31.

⁹⁰[The good life of the farmer] L. Strenght: De dichter van Bauw-heers wel-leven: Pieter Janssoon Schaghen (Leiden, 1977).

⁹¹Published posthumously, Amsterdam, 1614.

⁹²Quoted by M. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen: 'Nature and landscape in Dutch literature of the golden age', Dutch landscape: the early years (op. cit.), p. 76.

⁹³30 BC; English trans. London, 1943. Carel van Mander translated both these works into Dutch: Ossenstal (Eclogues) and 't Landt-werck (Georgics), Haarlem, 1597.

reflected in paintings as well as literary works, and there are many examples of landscape pictures with cattle and herders that show this distinctive influence. As in Virgil's originals, country life is simplified and idealised, the earth's natural bounty is a constant motif and a mood of lighthearted and amorous play prevails.⁹⁴ These rustic idylls, in which cattle are often prominent, though painted in a naturalistic manner with great attention to illusionistic detail, were understood as allegories and not regarded as neutral representations of actuality. They linked Dutch 17th-century taste to the older Italian liking for pictures of landscapes. The warm climate and hilly terrain of the Campagna was a favourite setting for compositions that often contained explicit references to Classical history and myth. Dutch artists had since the 16th century gone to Rome in significant numbers to learn Italian techniques and to acquire the proficiency to satisfy the taste of an international clientele. Those who returned to the Netherlands and maintained Italian influences in their works had a great impact on Dutch taste for pastoral landscapes as well as on the oeuvres of artists who probably never made the journey across the Alps.⁹⁵ Pictures

⁹⁴See p. 64 above on Arcadia. The vogue for portraits of well-to-do townspeople and their children in shepherds' and shepherdesses' attire in stylised rustic settings is further evidence of the fashion for pastoral themes. A. M. Kettering: op. cit., pp. 63-71. See also Chapter 4, note 28.

⁹⁵A. Blankert: Nederlandse 17e eeuwse italianiserende landschapschilders (exh. cat., Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 1965; rev. Soest, 1978). pp. 37-45; G. J. Hoogewerff: De Bentvueghels (The Hague, 1952); --: Nederlandsche kunstenaars te Rome, 1600-1725 (The Hague, 1942); Nieuw

influenced by second-hand assimilation of Italianate style and subject-matter were made by such artists as Aelbert Cuyp, Adriaen van de Velde (1636-72), Jan Wijnants (1632-84), Herman Saftleven (1609-85) and Jacobus Sibrandi Mancadan (1602-80). Whether the cattle in Italianate landscapes were meant to accord with Italian or Dutch types is unclear. The hilly terrain, colours and vegetation, the skies and, above all, the quality of the light are undoubtedly 'southern'. The cattle are mostly pure red-brown, spotlessly clean and tended by playful, lightly clothed herders. Buildings, if any, are typically ancient ruins, and a river or pool often completes the scene.⁹⁶ [42]

2.8 POLITICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL SUBJECTS

In political prints cattle were presented as explicit emblems of national identity and capital. The Dutch cow had already become an established character in 16th-century images.⁹⁷ [43] Cattle were frequently included in maps⁹⁴

licht op de gouden eeuw: Hendrik ter Brugghen en tijdgenoten (exh. cat. by A. Blankert, L. Slatkes et al., Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 1986; Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1987); W. Stechow: op. cit., pp. 147-66; Die Niederländer in Italien: italianisante Niederländer des 17. Jahrhunderts aus österreichischem Besitz (exh. cat. by R. Trnek, Salzburg, Residenzgalerie, 1986).

⁹⁶The polarity that emerged between 'Italianate' and 'Dutch' landscapes and veestukken was referred to on pp. 41-2 above. Italianate influence can also be found in contemporary Dutch images of cattle that decorate ceramic tiles, such as a blue and white tile dated 1653 after Nicolaes Berchem's Elijah fed by the ravens. See Delfts aardwerk (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1955), nr 3.

⁹⁷A. Chong: op. cit. (1988), pp. 67-9. On one such English work the inscription reads: "Not longe time since I saw a cowe./Did Flaunders represente/Upon whose back King Philip

and town views: for example in the anonymous altarpiece panels showing Dordrecht after the St Elizabeth's day flood of 1421 (see Figs. I and J),⁹⁸ [45] large, spotlessly clean pure brown, black and white cattle lie calmly in the flooded landscape while people are desperately rescuing their possessions and taking them away in boats; there are dead people though no dead cattle. The very large (1.85 x 6.7m) View of Dordrecht [46] by Adam Willaerts (1577-1664) takes care to include some cattle in an otherwise marine urban townscape. A View of Delft [47] by Hendrik Vroom (c. 1566-1640) and the anonymous View of Zwolle [48] show cattle in the fields outside the towns. Another anonymous town view shows well-built red-and-white cattle crowded on rectangular polder fields near Enkhuizen. [49] These scenes could be no more than descriptive, but among a series of prints by Hendrik Hondius (1573-1650) there is one of Cows in a pasture and in the water, [50] which is thought to be a comment on Dutch-Spanish relations. It has the inscription:

rode/As being malcontent./The Queene of England giving
 hay/Whereon the cow did feede./As one that was her greatest
 helpe./In her distresse and neede./The Prince of Orange
 milkt the cove/And made his purse the pay./The cow did shyte
 in monsieurs hand/While he did hold her tayle." Meesterlijk
 vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), fig. 1.

⁹⁸See pp. 225-6 below on Dordrecht's topography. See also E. Buijsen: 'De Meester van Rhenen en de Meester van de St-Elizabeth-panels: niet een maar twee personen', Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum, xxxv (1988), pp. 133-8. H. van der Waal: op. cit., i, pp. 255-8. 'De St Elisabethsvloed bij Dordrecht in 1421', Oude Kunst, i (1915-16), pp. 183-6. 'Een oude voorstelling van de Sint-Elisabeths-vloed van 1421', Tijdschrift Koninklijk Nederlandsche Aardrijskundig Genootschap, xiii (1925), pp. 133-8. M. K. E. Gottschalk: 'De St Elisabethsvloed', Spiegel Historiae, vi (1971), pp. 668-75.

"Ghy Heeren wachters wel neerstelyck toesiet,
Dat Ons gerooft werd de Hollandse koe niet."⁹⁹

Following the peace treaty between Spain and the Netherlands, signed at Munster in 1648, a play called Verklaringh van de ses eerste vertooningen, gedaen binnen Amsterdam ..., 5 juni 1648 by Samuel Coster (1579-1665) was staged with the commentary:

"Argus met honderd oogen, daer mede
bediedende de Heren Staten van Holland,
die haer ... nimmermeer in 't slaap laten
spelen, maer de koe (dat is haer
elkangenaeme Vaderland) als waken de sorg-
dragers, wel sullen bewaren."¹⁰⁰

In adopting the cow as a symbol of Dutch nationhood artists were giving expression to a widely held sense of their country's achievement and progress. The typical attributes of the cow - its sturdy, unflamboyant reliability and its value as a producer of important commodities (milk, meat and manure) - declared qualities of steady resourcefulness and made it a fitting symbol for the Dutch people's national self-esteem and enviable prosperity.

2.9 VEESTUK ICONOGRAPHY

If cattle images from whatever culture were a wholly neutral record of actuality, they could be used unhesitatingly as sources about specific cattle and husbandry practice. But if

⁹⁹[Watchmen, do your best to make sure that the Dutch cow is not stolen from us].

¹⁰⁰[Argus with a hundred eyes, like the ruling States of Holland, must never more sleep, but watch over the cow (that is her agreeable fatherland) as guardian.] H. van der Waal: op. cit., i, p. 22, n. 2. See note 28 above.

they were neither intended nor perceived as factual accounts, despite their 'realistic' look, they cannot safely be assumed to do more than hint at the actuality alongside which they existed and which they borrowed from and influenced. Agricultural and art historians have often unthinkingly used the visual record as 'evidence', not acknowledging the margin of 'error' that may deliberately have been introduced via the artists' imagination and through culturally influenced conventions of representation.¹⁰¹ For example, Sutton has said of the Stalinterieur by Gerard ter Borch (1617-81):

"Ter Borch's healthy cows remind us of the advances that were made in animal husbandry at this time in the Netherlands."¹⁰² [81]

To analyse more rigorously yeestuk iconography and the links it establishes between pictorial 'realism' and actuality, it is necessary to search for recurring patterns (and omissions) in the subject-matter and imagery of a range of cattle pictures. These observations also provide a more

¹⁰¹See D. L. Bakker: Studien über die Geschichte, den heutigen Stand und die Zukunft des Rindes und seiner Zucht in den Niederlanden mit besonderer kritischer Berücksichtigung der Arbeitsweise der niederländischen Rindviehstammbücher (Bern, 1909), pp. 27-36. His work is discussed in Chapter 3, on pp. 107-8 below.

¹⁰²p. Sutton: 'The noblest of livestock', J. Paul Getty Museum Journal, xv (1987), p. 107. The same presumptions have been made about cattle images from earlier cultures, for example: "From the colourings of the painted reliefs and from small coloured models which were placed in tombs, the colours of these cattle can be seen. They had plain black, brown, brown and white, black and white, possibly pure white and white spotted with black like the Lascaux cattle." F. E. Zeuner: A history of domesticated animals (London, 1963), pp. 223-4.

systematic basis from which to consider Cuyp's pictures, the focus of Chapter 4. To assist the discussion here, the iconographic factors are grouped under five headings: (i) cattle, (ii) people, (iii) landscape, (iv) farming and (v) stalinterieur.

(i) Cattle

Veestukken generally present cattle in a landscape or stalinterieur, either as the principal element of the composition, or among background details (though the distinction is not always precise). As far as their colour is concerned, virtually all the single and pied colours and combinations can be found:¹⁰³ pure red, black, brown, white, dun and grey; coloured body with white face or dark eye rings or white star; colour pied with white or speckled; white speckled with colour. However, relative frequencies are unequal and it may be that by the 17th-century a narrower range came to be preferred by artists, particularly brown-and-white, red-and-white and, most of all, pure red, gold and dun. Cattle showing pure black or black-and-white

¹⁰³The choices of depicted colours and their relation to the actual colours of contemporary Dutch cattle are discussed further in Chapter 3, on pp. 106-20 and 143-4.

colours became comparatively less common.¹⁰⁴ [52] For example, in the River scene with ferry[⁵³] by Salomon van Ruysdael (c. 1600-70), men, horses and cattle in a ferry are crossing a wide river. Three cattle are red-brown with white faces, one is white. His View of Rhenen[⁵⁴] has 13 cattle: three pure black, three pure brown, one pure white, one dappled white, four brown-and-white, one white-and brown. Three lie down, four stand on dry land, the rest wade in the shallow water. The milking scene in Gerard ter Borch's Stalinterieur¹⁰⁵ shows two cows in a dimly lit barn; a woman kneels to milk the nearer animal, whose coat colour is speckled white-and-brown; the other cow has a white head and brown sides; both have short, upward-pointing horns. There is a work jointly by Jan van der Heyden (1637-1712) and Adriaen van de Velde, Town view with ox and dog,[⁵⁵] showing a golden bull with white face markings.¹⁰⁶

In most veestukken the cattle look conspicuously well-built,

¹⁰⁴Only the lakenvelder, with a wide white 'belt' around the middle of an otherwise black or red body, seems missing. It is possible that this particular coat pattern was first bred in the 18th century, although Felius claims that the earliest known illustration of it is a 17th-century painting. M. Felius: Genus bos (Rahway, NJ, 1985), p. 25. See J. le Francq van Berkhey: Natuurlyke historie van Holland, 7 vols (Leiden, 1769-79), iv, pp. 213-6 and Chapter 3, notes 24 and 41.

¹⁰⁵See note 102 above.

¹⁰⁶The ox is standing on a cobbled street tethered to a hand rail in front of the Elisabethsgasthuis in Amsterdam. It almost completely obscures its herder who stands behind it; a resting dog lies nearby. It is an unusual setting for a cattle image.

with full, rounded bodies in healthy condition, and they are spotlessly clean. They are rarely thin; generally no indications of illness are depicted - no disfigurement, lameness, no congenital abnormalities, sores, wounds or blemishes. Paulus Potter's drawings and prints are unusual in this respect - he did depict soiled hind quarters, and some of his prints present scrawny, sick cattle, their skeletons prominent and angular, and even dead cattle.^[56] Another striking pattern is the omission of the principal natural events in the life cycle: birth, death (from natural causes, predation or slaughter); rarely is a bull seen mating with a cow¹⁰⁷ [57] or are calves shown. Equally unusual are scenes where cattle are eating. If they are, it is 'natural' grass or hay that they consume rather than 'man-made' fodder such as oilseed cake. Though cattle are often shown pissing^[58] they are never shown producing the manure that was so often the principal reason for keeping them at all.¹⁰⁸ Not all cattle images show the whole animal: the head alone occurs in several examples,¹⁰⁹ [59] while in

¹⁰⁷In a work now entitled Mating bull (Oberlin College, OH, Allen Memorial Art Museum) by Dirck van den Berghen (1640-c. 1690), the bull only appeared after the painting was restored in 1959. A former owner had him removed in 1931 for reasons of 'decorum'. [Guido Jansen, personal communication.]

¹⁰⁸In Potter's Young bull (1647; The Hague, Mauritshuis) there is a heap of manure. See p. 120 below.

¹⁰⁹And they generally have short horns. Melchior d'Hondecoeter (1636-95): Exotic animals (c. 1692; The Hague, Mauritshuis) is an exception. See William and Mary and their house (exh. cat., New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1979), nr 61.

complete contrast, the headless carcass of an ox strung up for butchering is occasionally presented in genre works.^[60] As well as being the direct subject of pictures, cattle are also found as images within images.^[61]

(ii) People

People are often, but not always, present in veestukken. Identifiable types include herders (male and female),^[62] milkmaids or other women or men milking cattle;^[63] shepherds and shepherdesses,^[64] ploughmen and farmhands,^[65] passers by, onlookers, small groups in conversation,^[66] muleteers,^[67] horseback riders,^[68] people in carts, carriages and ferries;^[69] and a curious specialty, naked bathers.^[70] Hendrik ten Oever depicted cattle and people bathing alongside each other in the water. The mainly broken-coloured cattle in his Landscape near Zwolle with bathers^[71] are presented against a distant panorama with the town on the horizon, the late afternoon sun shining into the observer's eyes, the men and women shamelessly enjoying their naked dip in the canal.

In veestukken the people's social status can be identified more precisely, as where the well-to-do are distinguished by their clothing^[72] from peasants. Social distance is also suggested by the juxtaposition of people on horseback with those on foot.^[73] Religious or mythological figures are sometimes explicitly represented.^[74] On the other hand, unambiguous indications of the country people's family

relationships are uncommon. The men and women tend not to belong in obvious family groups: a farmer together with his wife and children is rarely featured,[⁷⁵] and young children[⁷⁶] whose home is the farm are also unusual.¹¹⁰ There are few clues about family life to compare with those commonly revealed in genre scenes of either urban or country types. The indications of social structure and interaction tend to be restricted instead to stereotypes of apparently non-familial relationships between peasants and between peasants and obviously wealthier burgers or rich peasant farmers.

(iii) Landscape

The veestukken most often present cattle in pastures and fields, usually being tended by herders or being driven to and from the grazing land.[⁷⁷] Surroundings show typical Dutch features more or less particularised: flat land with low horizon and large sky; rivers and canals, woods and dunes. Country scenes may show windmills, huts, rough buildings, tracks and paths, tall old trees, shrubs and ground vegetation.[⁷⁸] Town views depict the distant churches, public and private buildings, the windmills, gates and walls of the town.[⁷⁹] On the waterways the transport of people and livestock is shown to a small degree, though the range of types of vessels and cargoes and the frequency of

¹¹⁰Portraits of children in pastoral attire are evidently from the well-to-do, in stylised poses, and belong to a different category of painting. See note 94 above.

movements is hardly revealed.¹¹¹ [90] The maintenance of existing land drainage systems: channels, dikes, canals and retaining walls, is not depicted; nor is the creation of new water defences. Land reclamation on a large scale to create fertile, usable land from former marshes and drowned areas is not dealt with; [91] neither the earth works and soil preparation nor the building of new windmills to pump excess water away. Severe winters and bad weather - storms, ice and snow, heavy rain, high winds, are not shown in connection with the cattle pictures.¹¹² Flooded land, waterlogged meadows, drowned pastures, rotting crops, trees uprooted by gales, the devastation of farm buildings - are only occasionally shown in prints. [92]

(iv) Farming

The farming practices, the detailed everyday tasks themselves, are almost never shown in veestukken. There is virtually no evidence in them of the range and variety of typical daily work. The countryside is not represented as a place of labour or industry, and it does not look as if the cattle require much effort to be cared for.¹¹³ [93] Little is revealed apart from relaxed scenes of milking or of herds strolling along. Sheep are very frequently seen sharing the

¹¹¹See Chapter 3, note 96.

¹¹²Although winter landscape developed as a specialty: see W. Stechow: op. cit., pp. 82-100.

¹¹³This aspect is discussed further in Chapter 3, particularly on pp. 135-6 and 145-6.

fields with the cattle.[⁹⁴] Also shown are goats, horses, mules and dogs; sometimes there are ducks and other waterfowl, game birds or chickens.[⁹⁵] But the landscape backgrounds generally do not reveal the types of arable crops grown or the methods of tending them. The work of cultivation in the fields is almost never seen, not even the basic tasks of sowing, ploughing[⁹⁶] or harvesting, nor the collection and spreading of manure. Evidence of simple crop rotation or the growing of industrial crops is hard to find. The export and import of live cattle by boat, the loading and unloading of livestock at the quayside, the mass transport of cattle by sea and river: the conditions and organisation of all these activities are not shown. The slaughter, butchering, cooking and consumption of meat are also omitted from veestukken (though these certainly feature in still-life and genre pictures).¹¹⁴ So too is the manufacture of products from slaughtered cattle (e.g. making leather in tanneries from hides) or the processing of horns and bones.

In milking scenes the milkmaid may have a seat, wooden pails to collect the milk, a yoke to carry the pails and sometimes a large, polished metal vessel and pouring funnels.[⁹⁷] But nothing to do with the manufacturing side of dairying is shown: the transfer of collected milk into vats, skimming off the cream and churning it into butter; setting, pressing

¹¹⁴Although hunting scenes and still-lives featuring dead game were popular specialties.

and draining the curds to make cheese. The equipment for dairying: pails, hand churns, vats, sieves, used in the parlours where this work would have been done, is not shown, nor are the large wind- and horse-powered churns that were beginning to be used then. The end products, cheese and butter, are similarly rare in these pictures, either at the farm or being taken to the place of sale. Although livestock markets are depicted,[⁸⁸] displays of cheeses and butter for sale are only very occasionally recorded (although cheeses are frequently represented in still-lives).¹¹⁵ [⁸⁹]

(v) Stalinterieur

When veestukken are set in interiors, the place is usually a cowshed or barn or some other shelter. Items of equipment may be shown such as barrels, sieves, hay forks, as well as empty earthenware or copper or brass vessels; sometimes other animals, and vegetables, are included.[⁹⁰] In the foreground of ter Borch's Stalinterieur[⁹¹] various objects including a wooden pail, an axe and a sieve are carefully displayed, while Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) gave one of

¹¹⁵For further discussion of still-life elements see pp. 195-6 below.

his stalinterieurs the subject of The Prodigal Son¹¹⁶ [92] and a Stalinterieur by Hubert van Ravesteyn (1638-91) includes a distant view of Dordrecht[93]. In contrast to the often ramshackle interiors typical of genre scenes, untidily cluttered with people, animals, food and household furniture and objects, stalinterieurs are often notable for their 'unnaturally' clean floors and tidy arrangements. They contain just a few carefully selected items ostentatiously displayed in the foreground; the people and animals are given static, contemplative poses.¹¹⁷

It is apparent from this survey that Dutch 17th-century veestukken do not present all aspects of the actuality of cattle's existence. As a record of the life cycle and husbandry of cattle they are clearly selective and incomplete, although drawings and prints employ a wider range of subject-matter. Some of the omissions may be due to personal choice by the artist on aesthetic grounds, some may be due to the taste of patrons and the general market. Others may be evidence of conventions imposed by iconographic or historical tradition, as this chapter has been able to show by viewing 17th century veestukken within

¹¹⁶L. Vergara: Rubens and the poetics of landscape (New Haven, 1982), p. 143. Rubens drew studies of cows and dairy maids and painted several landscapes where cattle feature prominently. See W. Adler: Landscapes, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Borchard, xviii (Oxford, 1982) and L. Vergara: op. cit.

¹¹⁷For further discussion see K. J. Müllenmeister: 'Das Stallinterieur als eigenständiges Genre', Roelant Savery in seiner Zeit (1576-1639) (op. cit.), pp. 46-50.

the context of a long and heterogeneous tradition of cattle imagery in a variety of media. The implications of this are examined in the next chapter.

Long before agriculture began to be practised, wild cattle were being hunted by nomadic peoples and probably also functioned in their spiritual belief systems. Species of wild cattle first appeared about 3 million years ago in what is now northern India. They spread permanently throughout Europe and the Old World following the last Ice Age and were first tamed around the end of the Upper Palaeolithic period (50,000-10,000 BC). The ubiquitous domestication of wild cattle was a direct consequence of early nomadic people's transition to a settled lifestyle in the Neolithic period (c. 5300-2000 BC).¹ Giving up the subsistence methods of the itinerant hunter-gatherer meant that all life's necessities had to be obtained in and around the settlements, and hence the need arose to tame and control cattle. They became an essential component of daily life, not only as draught labour to pull the plough and carry loads but also as sacrificial offerings in religious rituals;² their carcasses provided meat for consumption, hides, bones and teeth for clothing, domestic utensils, tools and ornaments; their milk could be consumed; manure served as a fertiliser. Cattle thereby also came to be used as a measure of the worth of an individual or a people and, as moveable property, functioned as currency for commercial transactions, ritual payments and

¹M. Felius: op. cit., pp. viii-ix. A. Fokkinga: Koeboek (Culemborg, 1985), p. 14.

²See Chapter 2, notes 22 and 31 and p. 66 above.

dowries. In wars and conflicts the seizure of an enemy's cattle deprived him of a principal means of independent existence.³

3.1 ORIGINS OF DUTCH CATTLE

Three distinct wild bovine types evolved: cattle, bison and buffalo. They continued to exist long after arable farming and cattle rearing had spread from the Middle East to Europe, c. 4500 BC, and had become the predominant means of subsistence.⁴ Eastern domesticated cattle of the zebu type (Bos indicus) have a hump, and signs of this characteristic were possibly already present in the wild ancestor in that area. European varieties (Bos taurus) are humpless and belong to two lines: the primigenius type with long, curved or lyre-shaped horns and the brachyceros type with short horns. The earliest evidence of domestication comes from Gatal Hüyük in Anatolia, where remains of cattle skeletons

³Cattle could even contribute to the military action, as in this account of one of Hannibal's campaigns: "Pine-knots collected from all the country round, and bundles of twigs and dry branches were tied to the horns of cattle, - of which, counting those that were broken in and those that were not - they possessed among their other rustic spoils, a considerable number. Of these they got together about two thousand head, and Hasdrubal was commissioned to drive this herd in the night, with their horns ablaze, on to the mountain, and particularly - if it should be feasible - above the pass held by the enemy." Livy: op. cit., bk XII:15, pp. 255-7.

⁴The last known wild cattle in Europe died in the 17th century. J. Clutton-Brock: Domesticated animals from early times (London, 1981), p. 64.

have been found and dated to c. 6500 BC.⁵ In northern Europe the earliest domesticated cattle remains come from Denmark, c. 4000 BC.⁶ The wild European cattle, known as the aurochs or urus, looked quite similar to modern domesticated cattle, the main differences being size, colour and horns: it is thought that the male aurochs had heavy and long (c. 80 cm) curved horns, dark (almost black) side colour and a white dorsal stripe; its height at the withers (shoulders) was about 175-200 cm and it weighed at least 1000 kg. The female had long horns too, usually a mainly unbroken red-brown colour and was much smaller than the male, about 150-170 cm at the withers. Calves were born red or red-brown and their colour darkened as they matured.⁷

Even though the laws of genetics were not to be discovered formally until the late 19th century by Gregor Mendel (1822-84), early peoples knew from experience that the progeny of animals tended to look like the parents, and they were therefore able to practise a simple form of selective

⁵D. Perkins: 'Fauna of Çatal Hüyük. Evidence for early cattle domestication in Anatolia', Science, lxiv/3874 (1969), pp. 177-9. A phylogenetic tree, constructed for the major groups of cattle, has been superimposed on a map of Europe and western Asia; it too locates the root close to the site. C. M. A. Baker and C. Manwell: 'Chemical classification of cattle. 1. Breed groups', Animal Blood Groups and Biochemical Genetics, xi (1980), pp. 127-50. --: '2. Phylogenetic tree and specific status of zebu', ibid., pp. 151-62. Archaeological research suggests cattle may have been domesticated in Africa c. 11,000 BC. A. Fokkinga: op. cit., p. 13.

⁶F. E. Zeuner: op. cit., p. 13.

⁷M. Felius: op. cit., p. viii.

breeding. This allowed desired features, for example colour or docile temperament, to become more pronounced in a herd than natural selection alone might have produced. For peoples who attributed special significance to particular colourings (for example pure white or pure black) as symbolic embodiments of the deities or spirits of the natural phenomena that mattered to them, such as the sun, the rain, the earth or the harvest, the supply of cattle with those colours came within their control, and they were able to influence the look of subsequent generations. Under the protection of domestication unbroken colours could safely be displayed whereas in the wild a pied, spotted or speckled colour provided essential camouflage against predators. Early farmers probably found hornless (polled) cattle easier to manage than animals with long sharp horns and would have been able to breed short-horned or polled stock from such naturally occurring mutants in their herds. Early domesticated cattle typically were polled or short-horned and their colours showed a greater range than wild types: between dark and light, pure and broken.

The visual record, which includes such examples as the cave paintings at Lascaux, Ancient Egyptian tomb artefacts and carved reliefs and models from the Ancient Near East, though it seems to support the conclusion that domesticated cattle became significantly smaller than the aurochs, can be taken

as no more than a possible hint of contemporary actuality.⁹ The strongest evidence is excavated bones: Early Neolithic cattle stood at 115-138 cm⁹ but early medieval cattle weighed 250 kg and stood at only 105-110 cm compared with 1000 kg and 140 cm (bull) and 550 kg and 130 cm (cow) now.¹⁰ This huge loss of body mass and consequent modifications to conformation came about through the introduction of restrictions on the amount and quality of the food intake of herded animals.¹¹ Unless sufficiently abundant and nutritious winter fodder could be grown or bought and stored, the option of keeping all the cattle throughout the year was not common in northern countries: most of the herd was sold or slaughtered at the onset of winter.¹² Although domestication brought protection from predation it also increased the opportunities for disease to be transmitted through the artificially confined herds, and epidemics of cattle plague are recorded in Ancient Egyptian tomb inscriptions, in the Bible and other early sources. Cattle

⁹See p. 86 above.

⁹M. H. French, ed.: European breeds of cattle, 2 vols (Rome, 1966), i, p. 13.

¹⁰A. Fokkinga: op. cit., p. 28. A. T. Clason: Jacht en veeteelt van prehistorie tot middeleeuwen (Haarlem, 1977), p. 38. Modern cattle are only half the weight of the aurochs. See also B. H. Slicher van Bath: 'Paleodemografie', A. A. G. Bijdragen, xv (1970), p. 187.

¹¹J. Clutton-Brock: op. cit., p. 62.

¹²In the Netherlands November used to be called 'slaughter month', as in 'November/Slacht-Maendt' from the Groote comptoir almanach (Amsterdam, 1667). See Still-life in the age of Rembrandt (op. cit.), fig. VIII.

required careful attention the year round: grazing land in summer, shelter and fodder in the winter once pastures were exhausted or inaccessible. If the cattle were also required to supply milk, several time-consuming tasks were imposed on the daily routine: milking, transporting the milk, storing and processing it. Breeding had to be organised and timed to maintain herd size against depletions from slaughter or disease. The cattle had to be guarded against predators and theft.

All Europe was settled by agricultural peoples by 2500 BC. In the Netherlands archaeological excavations have produced cattle remains dating to before 1000 BC,¹³ and from that time agricultural settlements are thought to have existed wherever the land naturally offered or could be artificially altered to provide safety from inundation. Subsistence farming was carried out on this vulnerable yet fertile post-glacial terrain from before the Roman period (1st-4th century AD). Early writings on agriculture and the husbandry of cattle give some indications of the developing state of knowledge and practical skill from around the first millennium BC onwards,¹⁴ though the documentary record specifically for the Netherlands is sparse. Cattle rearing seems likely to have been of central importance to the rural economy during that period, not only to provide draught

¹³A. T. Clason: op. cit., pp. 184-5.

¹⁴See pp. 74-80 above.

labour and meat but perhaps also for milk and for sacrificial purposes. The Romans brought Mediterranean cattle and methods of stock rearing to the Netherlands, and it must have become possible to build up herds that could thrive in the local conditions since several market centres arose for internal trade in live cattle, meat and dairy products. Some of the earliest intra-European trade in live cattle was also centred on the Netherlands. This had been very active from at least Roman times, when large herds were regularly moved great distances from the Baltic, Scandinavia, England and Germany. The Dutch conducted cattle trade with their neighbours in Denmark and Germany from early on; dates of the known medieval and later Dutch markets and weighhouses are listed in Appendix 2.

By the 14th century there are a few surviving records that provide a glimpse of Dutch cattle husbandry, detailing herd size, the colours of the cattle and their ages:¹⁵ it seems that relatively large cattle were able to be bred and that animals were kept for several years, implying they could be satisfactorily housed and fed over winter. The cash books of Rienck Hemmema, an unusually successful farmer in Hitsum near Franeker in Friesland, survive for 1569-73 and illustrate in substantial detail the methods and results of

¹⁵C. Baars: 'Boekhoudingen van landbouwbedrijven in de Hoeksewaard uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', A. A. G. Bijdragen, xix (1975), pp. 7-36. See also H. K. Roessingh: 'De veetelling van 1526 in het kwartier van Veluwe', A. A. G. Bijdragen, xxii (1979), pp. 3-57.

this farm where, in addition to arable crops, cattle were also kept and dairying was one of the principal sources of income.¹⁶ By the 17th century Dutch cattle had achieved an international reputation and were bought as stock for breeding with the indigenous cattle in England, Spain, Portugal and Russia and were imported into the new north American colonies.¹⁷

Methods of cattle rearing for most Dutch farmers seem to have remained unchanged for hundreds of years, the only relatively widespread 17th-century innovation being greater variety in the types of winter fodder grown. The systematic 'improvement' of cattle stock only commenced in the 18th century with the inbreeding experiments of the English farmer Robert Bakewell (1725-95) to establish a 'new' longhorn breed. His principles were followed by Charles (1750-1836) and Robert (1749-1820) Colling, who produced forerunners of the modern shorthorn breeds.¹⁸ Herdbooks documenting and registering named breeds were to follow in

¹⁶B. H. Slicher van Bath: 'Een Fries landbouwbedrijf in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw', Agronomisch-Historisch Bijdragen, iv (1958), pp. 67-130; 'Robert Loder en Rienck Hemmema', Bijdragen tot de agrarische geschiedenis (Utrecht, 1978), pp. 52-80.

¹⁷See pp. 120 and 124-5 below. The Dutch held the monopoly over dairy cattle in Japan between 1609 and 1854 and possibly exported live cattle to Japan in the 17th century. An undated Japanese painting of the Dutch colony in Decima (Nagasaki) depicts pure black, pure brown and brown-and-white cattle standing in the courtyard of a house. N. Eekhof-Stork: Spectrum Kaasatlas (Utrecht, 1981) p. 10.

¹⁸A. Fraser: The bull (London, 1972), pp. 114-16.

the 19th century, but before Dutch cattle farmers could pursue that course they had to deal with the consequences of repeated epidemics of runderpest (cattle plague) during the 18th century. There were three major outbreaks: the worst from 1714 to 1720; then from 1744 to 1754; and finally, less severe but longer, from c. 1769 to c. 1784. In the first epidemic 70-80% of the cattle in Holland and Friesland died, a loss of about 300,000 head. In the second, Holland's Noorderkwartier¹⁹ lost over 60% and Friesland lost about 70%, 109,000. In the third, North and South Holland lost 396,000 head of cattle.²⁰ These unprecedented losses were reversed by importing stock, and by the middle of the 19th century the international reputation of the Dutch beef and dairy industries was once again high.²¹ However, the severity of the 18th-century losses from runderpest suggests an apparently low resistance to the disease and thus raises questions about the actual condition of the cattle towards the end of the 17th century.²²

¹⁹The land north of the River IJ. I. Tirion: Tegenwoordige staat der vereenigde nederlanden, iv, Holland (Amsterdam, 1742), p. 289.

²⁰J. Joor: 'Boeren onder druk, 1650-1800', Agrarische geschiedenis van Nederland van prehistorie tot heden, P. C. M. Hoppenbrouwers et al. (The Hague, 1986), p. 66. M. H. French: op. cit., p. 192. J. K. Stanford: British Friesians (London, 1956), pp. 19-20.

²¹In 1862-4 over 528,000 head of cattle were exported to Prussia, Belgium and England. J. K. Stanford: op. cit., p. 23.

²²See pp. 124 and 144 below.

3.2 COLOURS OF CATTLE

The colours of present day Dutch cattle are not a reliable indication of the colours that prevailed in the 17th century, for two main reasons. Firstly, because the 18th-century runderpest epidemics killed off such a large proportion of the cattle that herds had to be reconstituted through large scale purchases of imported stock. This was bought principally from Jutland in mainland Denmark and from Munster in Germany, both sources of livestock imports in the past. The Danish animals were black-and-white,²³ the German cattle were pure red. Secondly, in the 19th century highly selective and controlled breeding was employed to produce cattle of very specific colours and markings, upon which the 20th-century lines have developed. They are designed with a view to producing the combination of characteristics demanded by the farming industry and its markets. The two commonest breeds in the Netherlands are the Friesian (over 70%), a black-and-white animal with very high milk yield (c. 5000 litres per annum), and the Meuse-Rhine-Yssel or MRY (over 25%), a white-and-red animal good for both beef and milk; both breeds are also used elsewhere in Europe. Other breeds exist in the Netherlands, in smaller numbers and with more localised distribution, particularly the Groninger Blaarkop (with black or red body and eye ring and white face); witrik (colour sides and white back); and Lakenvelder

²³R. B. Becker: Dairy cattle breeds (Gainsville, 1973), p. 389. See also note 42 below.

(black with wide white belt around paunch).²⁴ How dissimilar the 20th-century cattle are from their 17th-century counterparts is thus a product of the influences of herd improvement and of selective breeding through imports on the earlier stock.

No comprehensive statistics exist for the 17th century that would identify cattle colours for the whole of the Netherlands and which could be used to make reliable comparisons. Instead, scattered fragments of 17th-century evidence have to be interpreted and analysed to reveal the most likely state of actuality then. The question is not only what colours existed but what the relative frequencies of the colours were and how they were distributed from place to place. If the pictures by 17th-century artists are taken as a factual record, at the very least they suggest that the distinctive black-and-white markings of the modern Friesian were rare and that the typical MRY white-and-red too was uncommon. The usual colours would seem to have been pure red or brown, pure black, pure white, pure grey, dun, red-and-white and blaarkop (black or red body with white face). However, in taking pictures as a factual record, as D. L. Bakker and other agricultural historians have done, they failed to ensure the sample of pictures included in the count was representative of contemporary pictures for the

²⁴D. Minkema and J. de Rooy: 'Kleuren en aftekeningen bij runderen', Zeldzaam Huisdier, 2 (1982), pp. 52-7. See also Chapter 2, note 104, and note 41 below.

period. Bakker surveyed the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum collection c. 1909 and concluded from it that as black cattle never appeared in the works made between 1600 and 1750 they therefore did not exist in the Netherlands then.²⁵ This was disputed by Prentice:

"Others have examined paintings in the galleries of Holland and elsewhere with results quite at variance with those reported by Dr Bakker, for Paulus Potter (1625-54), Roelandt Savery (1576-1639), C.P. Berchem (1620-85), Albert [sic] Cuyp (1605-91) [sic], Ph. Koninck (1629-88), A. Calraet (1642-1722), Arie [sic] v.d. Velde (1632-72) and Sal. v. Ruisdael (1600-70) painted pictures of Dutch cattle as they were before the murrain [cattle plague], and all the paintings containing cattle by these artists which were found on a visit to Dutch galleries, without exception showed both black-and-white and red-and-white cattle. In the Metropolitan Museum in New York among comparatively few early Dutch pictures containing cattle are two by Albert Cuyp and one by Paul Potter - all three containing representations of black-and-white cattle. According to the best evidence which it is possible to procure from paintings, therefore, it seems that the cattle of Holland showed the same mixture of colours in the seventeenth century that are to be found in Holland today."²⁶

Apart from not questioning whether the Rijksmuseum's displayed collection of cattle pictures at that time was representative of Dutch 17th-century cattle pictures generally, there was apparently no hesitation by Bakker or Prentice in assuming the total equivalence with actuality of artists' naturalistically presented compositions. Since

²⁵D. L. Bakker: op. cit., pp. 27-36.

²⁶E. P. Prentice: Breeding profitable dairy cattle (London, 1935), p. 55.

Dutch 17th-century cattle may indeed have looked to some degree as they do in the contemporary pictures, what is needed is an assessment of the relationship between the pictorial 'reality' and everyday observable actuality.

The colours of the earliest known domesticated cattle in the Netherlands, c. 4000 BC,²⁷ have been guessed at using archaeological study:

"...most colours were already present in domestic cattle by the time that they had begun to be moved from the centre of domestication in eastern Turkey. From here there were four routes of migration available, south-eastwards down the Euphrates valley towards India, southwards through Palestine to Egypt, westwards across the Dardanelles to Greece and the Balkans, and northwards through the passes in the Caucasus to the Russian steppe."²⁸

It is thought that all four routes did not see equal distribution of all colours because of selective breeding for religious purposes. For example, black cattle were associated with rain and death, red with the corn spirit, white with a sun god. So red cattle were likely to be favoured by agriculturalists and white cattle were likely among sun worshippers.²⁹ Written references to cattle colours are found in Homer,³⁰ Hesiod and Aristotle. Mago of

²⁷F. E. Zeuner: op. cit., pp. 201-44.

²⁸B. McCay: 'The Telemark cline', Ark, ii (1975), p. 227.

²⁹B. McCay: ibid.; G. J. Hengeveld: Het rundvee, zijne verschillende soorten, rassen en veredeling, 2 vols (Haarlem, 1865-70), ii, p. 7.

³⁰Homer: Odyssey (8th century BC), bk XVIII:370.

Carthage described the features to look for in a good ox and stated:

"... his colour is to be redde or blacke is best".³¹

Marcus Terrentius Varro wrote that:

" The best colour is black, next red, then dun and then white; for those of the last mentioned colour are the most delicate, and those of the first most hardy. Of the other two colours the first is preferable to the second, while both are more common than the black and white."³²

He added:

"It is also a matter of importance where they are born; thus in Italy many Gallic oxen of good breed are good workers, while the Ligurians are of small account; of foreign cattle those of Epirus are not only the best in all Greece, but are even better than the Italians. Yet some people use cattle of Italian breeds, which they claim excel in size, as offerings, and these they reserve for solemn offering to the gods. These are doubtless to be preferred for sacrificial purposes because of the splendour of their size and colour; and this is done all the more because white cattle are not so common in Italy as they are in Thrace on the shores of the Black Gulf where there are few of any other colour."³³

Virgil made these observations:

"I have nothing against an animal of prominent white markings, or one that rejects the yoke and is hasty at times with her horn - more like a bull to look at, tall all over, dusting the ground with

³¹Quoted in L. Mascall: The first booke of cattell (London, 1587), p. 2.

³²M. T. Varro: op. cit., bk II:5, p. 371.

³³ibid., pp. 372-3.

her tail as she goes."³⁴

Albertus Magnus observed that the Dutch cattle were large, they were good milk producers and had broken colours, very like the cattle of Lombardy who were originally descended from large Greek cattle of broken colours.³⁵ Other writers refer to the legend that the Friesians came to Holland from the lower Rhineland c. 300 BC bringing cattle and cultural beliefs with them, and that the mother of their cattle, 'a cow as white as snow' came earlier from India; the Batavians arrived two centuries later from Hesse near the Rhone headwaters, bringing black cattle. This was supposedly the origin of black-and-white cattle in the Netherlands.³⁶

In 1344 the Marckerhoeft monastery near Monnickendam compiled an inventory of its cattle, one of the earliest known sources from the Netherlands to specify the cattle colours so clearly. There were 140 cattle of which 115 were identified by colour, including 57 black or black-and-white and 42 red or red-and-white:

"35 zwart [black]; 12 zwartbont [black-and-white]; 9 zwarte witrikken [black with white dorsal stripe]; 1 zwarte met kol [black with white star on face]; 28 rode [red]; 7 roodblaard [red with white face];

³⁴Virgil: Georgics, bk III, pp. 56-7.

³⁵Cited in E. P. Prentice: American dairy cattle (London, 1942), pp. 113-17.

³⁶G. J. Hengeveld: op. cit., ii, pp. 6-7; R. B. Becker: op. cit., p. 229; H. M. and D. M. Briggs: Modern breeds of livestock, (London, 1980), pp. 227-8; M. S. Prescott, F. T. Price, H. H. Wing and W. A. Prescott: Holstein-Friesian history (New York, 1930), p. 1.

1 roodbonte [red-and-white]; 3 roodgevelekte [red flecked with white]; 2 rode witrikken [red with white dorsal stripe]; 1 rood gouderd [red with white at the withers]; 1 vale [dun]; 1 vaalblaarde [dun with white face]; 2 grijze [grey]; 3 witte [white]; 3 witgevelekte [white flecked with colour]; 3 witgouderde [white with colour at the withers]; 1 witte witrik [mainly white with white dorsal stripe]; 2 bruin [brown]."³⁷

Describing Holland c. 1370 Bartholomeus de Glanvil wrote that it had fertile soil and very good pastures stocked with cattle of all kinds.³⁸ In the 15th century another source, from Kampen, again recorded a wide spread of colours:

"1 swart collede [black with white star on face]; 1 roetbonte [red-and-white]; 1 bloetrode [pure red]; 1 roet ruggelde [red with white dorsal stripe]; 1 wit bijnsede [dun-and-white]; 1 swarte koe [black cow]; 4 guste koen [dry (= non-lactating) cows]; 3 bloetrode vaarsen [pure red heifers]; 1 swarte boll [black bull]; 6 kalveren [calves]"³⁹

A 17th-century (1674) inventory of a 69 ha farm in Zeeland reveals that the herd comprised 31 head:

"drie melckkoijen: een bleek roo [white-and-red], en twee gremelhoofde [white flecked with colour]; 5 driejarige ossen: 2 swarte withoofde [black with white faces] en 2 roo [red] en een geheel roo [pure red] ossen; 8 tweejarige ossen; 1 tweejarige roo withooffde [red with white face] stier; 3 tweejarige kalfdragende vaerssen [pregnant heifers]; 4 hockelinge [calves]; 2 kuysen [calves]; 2 stieren; 3

³⁷H. G. Hamaker: De rekening der grafelijkheid van Holland onder het Henegouwsche huis, 2 vols (Utrecht, 1875-6), i, pp. 359-66, 371-2.

³⁸B. de Glanvil: De proprietatibus rerum (Nuremberg, 1483), bk XV:110; cited in E. P. Prentice: op. cit. (1942), p. 92.

³⁹W. Geldof: De koe bij de horens gevat (Utrecht, 1984), p. 74.

melck kalveren."⁴⁰

These lists also demonstrate the range of colours, pure and broken, that were distinguished for descriptive purposes, and there are reports of yellow, dun, grey and white Dutch cattle being exported to England from the late medieval period.⁴¹

Imported livestock had also influenced the colours of native Dutch cattle: since medieval times thin cattle had been imported for fattening, and Danish traders were granted special rights to bring stock in at the cattle markets of Hoorn and Enkhuizen (see Appendix 2). Danish cattle were of two types: those from Jutland, the mainland bordering what is now West Germany in the south, and those from the Danish islands. The Jutland cattle were predominantly black-and-white and thought to be genetically close to the cattle indigenous to the similarly coastal Dutch province of Friesland.⁴² They were bought young by Dutch farmers in the

⁴⁰C. Baars: op. cit. (1975), pp. 18-20, 33.

⁴¹R. Trow-Smith: A history of British livestock husbandry, i (London, 1957), pp. 197-8, 202-3. W. Ellis: The modern husbandman, London, 1744, cited in E. P. Prentice: op. cit. (1935), p. 38. Lakenvelders may also have been imported, perhaps in the 1690s by Sir William Temple, forming the 'belted' or 'sheeted' stock bred as decorative adornments on gentlemen's country estates. J. Urquhart: Animals on the farm (London, 1983), p. 98. See also W. Geldof: 'Iets over de geschiedenis der Lakenvelders', Zeldzaam Huisdier, 2 (1977), pp. 4-12.

⁴²R. B. Becker: op. cit., p. 389. "Historical evidence shows that small black-and-white cattle had been raised in northern Jutland before the seventeenth century. It is known that both the people and the cattle of this area moved into the northern Netherlands at this time, when disease and flooding of the early polders had decimated the cattle

spring and either re-exported to Scandinavia, or to England, Spain or Portugal as fatstock, or slaughtered for the domestic market. The movement of live cattle in and out of the Netherlands was conducted on a large scale: in 1624, 11,769 head were bought at Enkhuizen. On average during the 17th century about 30-50,000 head per annum of Danish cattle were imported into the Netherlands together with about 50,000 from Sweden and Schleswig-Holstein:⁴³

"Great herds of Oxen and Calves, are yeerely brought into these parts out of the Dukedome of Holst, united to the Kingdome of Denmarke (in which parts they feed most on dry and salt meates), and these Herds are fatted in the rich pastures of Gelderland and Freesland."⁴⁴

It is likely that some of the imported stock remained in the Netherlands to be bred with the native animals, thereby adding further variety to the already hybrid genetic pool of the native cattle. Although breeds of cattle in the modern sense were unknown in the Netherlands in the 17th century, farmers at that time would have aimed to improve their herds from individuals with better than average characteristics, for example good milk yield, placid temperament and disease resistance. If such characteristics were believed to be

population as well as causing considerable loss of human life. This movement of the black-and-white cattle of northern Jutland is probably the earliest authentic evidence of the ancestors of the modern Friesian." J. E. Rouse: World cattle, i (Norman, OK, 1969), p. 209.

⁴³B. H. Slicher van Bath: The agrarian history of western Europe, 500-1850 (London, 1963), p. 286. M. H. French: op. cit., p. 192.

⁴⁴F. Moryson (1566-1630): An itinerary of ten yeeres travell (London, 1617), bk I, p. 95.

associated with specific colours then the relative frequency of those colours would have been likely to have been deliberately increased and, over time, the distribution of colours would have reflected those opinions. Evidence of such preferred associations appears in a number of writings. A mid-16th-century treatise that first appeared in France, then (edited and expanded) in Dutch in 1566 and in English in 1616, made these observations:

"[The bull] ... must also be chosen more long than high, of a red haire, large betwixt the shoulders, strong legged, round trussed and bodied, broad breasted, short headed, broad browed, fierce countenanced, terrible to fight, black eyes, short hornes, long tayle and full of haire. But in England and other places they never use to feed their horned Catell with Corne, for they find it of small or no profit, Grasse or Hay being ever sufficient: and though in France the red colour be ever most preferred, yet as Serres also affirmeth, the blacke is fully as excellent; for the red exceedeth but in proving an extraordinarie virtue in the milke, but the blacke is ever the hardest, best flesht, best tallowed, and hath the strongest hyde.

[...] Furthermore, [the Huswife] shall make much account evermore of the Cow which is of a mean stature, of a long bodie, a large flanke, foure or five yeares old, of a party blacke colour, or spotted with white and blacke, her bagge great and side, a great bellie, broad betwixt the browes, a blacke eye, and great hornes, not turning in one towards another, nor yet short or small, but bright, blacke ...

[... Oxen:] colour blacke and red: this is the best: The second and next thereto is the Bay, the Pie-coloured, and the spotted: The white is the worst of all: The gray and yellowish are indifferent

... "45

Fitzherbert's 16th-century manual of husbandry said:

"... if she [the cow] be spotted with white, or shrewd or wicked with her horn, it is an error, but no fault, for it shewes mettle and goodnes, in generall, the more bull-like a cow is, the better she is."⁴⁶

The 17th-century English treatises by Gervase Markham (1568-1637) and Adolphus Speed said about colours:

"The red cow giveth the best milke, and the blacke cow bringeth forth the goodliest calves."⁴⁷

"If you design for breed, look well to the limbs and proportion of your Bull and chuse, above others, one that's mostly of a red Colour, sprightly and not exceeding five years ..."⁴⁸

and the Frenchman Olivier de Serres (1539-1619) also advised red or black as the colours of choice.⁴⁹ At the beginning of the 18th century two French writers of natural histories rated each of the main colours in more detail. Liger (1658-1717) wrote:

"Un boeuf sous Poil noir est toūjours bon,

⁴⁵C. Etienne and J. Libaut: Praedium rusticum (Paris, 1554); Dutch ed. as De lantwinninge ende hoeve, (Antwerp, 1566); Eng. ed. G. Markham: Maison rustique or the country farme, London, 1616, pp. 62, 63-4, 92.

⁴⁶[J.] Fitzherbert: Book of husbandrie (London, 1598), p. 59.

⁴⁷G. Markham: Cheape and good husbandry, (London, 1614), p. 43.

⁴⁸A[dolphus] S[peed] Gent[leman]: The husbandman; farmer and grasier's compleat instructor (London, 1697), f 2.

⁴⁹O. de Serres: Le théâtre d'agriculture et mesnages de champs (Paris, 1600), p. 278.

pourvu qu'il ait quelque blancheur ou aux pieds, ou à la tête; autrement il est lourd, & nonchalant à travailler, à cause de la mélancolie qui le domine entièrement. Si on fait cas d'un Boeuf sous poil rouge pour être attelé à la charriie ou à la charrette, ce n'est pas sans raison; car étant fort bilieux, on remarque qu'il a toujours beaucoup de feu, ce qu'on ne sçauroit trouver jamez assez dans cet animal, qu'il est exrremement lent de sa nature. C'est pourquoy je conseille lors qu'on en voudra acheter pour labourer, de les choisir de ce poil autant qu'on pourra: ce n'est pas qu'ils en valussent beaucoup moins quand ils auroient quelques extrémités blanches."

"[bay].. il n'est pas si ardent que le rouge, à cause du flegme qui y tempere un peu la bile, & qui le rend plus lent à travailler."

"Le poil moucheté, est celui que nous appelons pommelé dans les chevaux: Les boeufs sous ce poil ne valent pas les precedents ... plus paresseux ..."

"[Blanc] Jamais Boeuf de ce poil ne valut rien que pour engraisser ..."

"[Gris] Je n'estimerois encore quères un Boef sous ce poil ..."

"[Brun] ... il ne sera pas tout-à-fait rejeté ..."⁸⁰

And Buffon (1707-88) later observed:

"Les boeufs, comme les autres animaux domestiques, varient pour la couleur; cependant le poil roux paroît être le plus commun, & plus il est rouge, plus il est estimé: on fait cas aussi du poil noir, & on pretend que les boefs sous poil bai durent long-temps; que les bruns durent moins & se rebutent de bonne heure; que les gris, les pommelés & les blancs ne valent rien pour le travail & ne sont propre qu'à être engraisés; mais de quelque couleur que soit le poil du boeuf, il doit être luisant, épais & doux au

⁸⁰L. Liger: Oeconomie générale de la campagne ou nouvelle maison rustique (Amsterdam, 1701), bk I, pp. 147-8.

toucher, car s'il est rude, mal uni ou dégarni, on a raison de supposer que l'animal souffre, ou du moins qu'il n'est pas d'un fort tempérament".⁵¹

The Englishman John Mills (d ?1784) commented:

"Oxen, like other domestic animals, are of various colours. The dun is the most common, and the redder it is, the more the creature is esteemed: the black are also valued; and bay oxen are said to be vigorous and long-lived; whereas the brown soon decay. The grey, the pied, and the white are commonly deemed fit only for slaughter; it being the general opinion, which by the bye I doubt, that no pains can render them fit for labour."⁵²

Four factors influencing the colours of Dutch 17th-century cattle have been described above: (1) from early times, the Low Countries were occupied and settled by a sequence of invading peoples who brought livestock with them;⁵³ (2) there was evidence at least as early as the 14th century that herds could show wide heterogeneity of colour; (3) from the middle ages livestock imports into the Netherlands would have influenced the varieties and relative frequencies of possible markings, particularly black-and-white associated with cattle from Jutland; (4) selective breeding would have further affected the relative frequencies of certain favoured colours. On the other hand, these influences may

⁵¹G. L. Leclerc, Comte de Buffon: Histoire naturelle, generale et particuliere (Paris, 1749-67), Oeuvres complètes (Paris, 1770-90), xv: Histoire des animaux quadrupèdes (1775), pp. 199-200.

⁵²J. Mills: A treatise on cattle (London, 1776), p. 291.

⁵³The Celts and Germans, the Romans (56 BC-406 AD), the Franks, Frisians and Saxons (5th century) and the Normans (9th century). G. Verwey: Geschiedenis van Nederland (Amsterdam/Brussels, 2/1983), pp. 17-92.

not have applied evenly in all parts of the Netherlands. Heavily forested areas would have been unsuitable for large-scale cattle rearing because of the shortage of cleared grazing land; some low-lying grazing lands would have been lost through inundation or where drainage was inadequate.⁵⁴

The area of the northern Netherlands now called Friesland had for a long time been associated with cattle rearing: Pliny wrote that the inhabitants protected themselves and their stock from the hazards of flooding by building terpen (artificial hillocks) well above flood levels.⁵⁵ The pre-17th-century Friesian cattle are now considered to be the direct ancestors of modern Dutch Friesians and their relatives the Holstein-Friesians of the USA (and elsewhere).⁵⁶ Evidence that Dutch Friesian cattle were predominantly black-and-white comes from two sources: inventories from Friesian estates - for example, Rienck Hemmema's herd comprised twelve black (including black-and-white), eleven grey (including grey-and-white), two red (including red-and-white), three white (including white-and-red) and one yellow⁵⁷ - and the accounts of livestock

⁵⁴A. T. Clason: Animals and man in Holland's past (Groningen, 1967), p. 105.

⁵⁵See E. P. Prentice: op. cit. (1942), p. 98.

⁵⁶E. P. Prentice: ibid. (1942), pp. 128-137.

⁵⁷B. H. Slicher van Bath: op. cit. (1958), p. 103; J. J. Spahr van der Hoek and O. Postma: Geschiedenis van de Friese landbouw, 2 vols (Leeuwarden, 1952), pp. 264-5. An analysis of Friesian inventories from the early years of the 18th century gives the prices for different categories of hide colour and shows that black-and-white was a common type, no

exported from the Netherlands to the new colonies in North America in the first part of the 17th century. The first permanent English settlement there was at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607; a colony was founded in 1620 at Plymouth, Massachusetts, and the Dutch settled on Manhattan in 1621. Thereafter Atlantic coast settlements proliferated and by 1700 all 13 of the original British colonies except Georgia had been settled. Shipments of cattle from the Old World began in the early years of the 17th century and ceased by about 1650, and Rouse has noted that:

"The Dutch colonists who landed on Manhattan Island in 1621 brought with them the black-and-white cattle common in the Netherlands at the time. They were the ancestors of the cattle from which the Friesian breed of the Netherlands was developed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. There are also various references to white cattle imported to Manhattan Island in 1625. There are also records of black-and-white cattle, undoubtedly of Netherlands origin, taken from Denmark to New England in 1633. As late as 1725 the Dutch West Indies Company was still taking cattle from Holland to the settlements around Manhattan."⁵⁹

3.3 CATTLE CONDITION

The condition and size of cattle depends both on genetic factors and environmental circumstances. Comparisons between skeletal remains of wild and domesticated species from

less valued than red markings. ibid., p. 268.

⁵⁹J. E. Rouse: op. cit., iii (1973), pp. 343, 359, 425. See also pp. 124-5 below.

archaeological sites confirm that significant loss of body mass was a sequel of domestication. Confining cattle and controlling their food intake, inevitable results of the shift to domestication, brought practical benefits to the farmer, though not without consequences for the condition and hardiness of the stock. Whereas in the wild state cattle could feed at will and move to fresh grazing land to avoid poor quality or exhausted pastures, domesticated cattle were restricted by the pastures they were led to or the fodder the farmer provided and by the amount of time allowed for grazing and ruminating (which would have been curtailed if they were driven every day). Milk cows, because they have to convert part of their daily food intake into milk over a far longer time than the natural lactation period, and since the process of being milked interrupts feeding, had further constraints imposed on their potential size and condition. Furthermore, domesticated cattle are forced into closer proximity to each other than in the wild, affecting their feeding behaviour and exposure to disease. Domestication puts these and other pressures on the animals, which farmers trade off against efficiency gains obtained through husbandry techniques. Since the 17th century ever more intensive methods of stock rearing have become the norm, making it is possible to 'fine-tune' the animals' metabolism and conformation in order to produce profitable carcasses with a prescribed distribution and proportion of muscle and fat, and to attain specific yields and composition of milk.

In the 17th century farming was not practised on the modern scale: the average size of farms was relatively small, around 10-25 morgen (8.5-21.25 ha), few being larger than c. 40 ha;⁵⁹ herds were small and arable and stock were not yet the distinct alternatives they were to become. In the 16th century most rural households had kept some cattle as a matter of course, for draught labour and to provide manure for their land, the dairy products and meat useful to the domestic economy.⁶⁰ Stock rearing became generally preferred in areas where the land was inadequate for crop growing because it was too rough or sandy or waterlogged, or when prices for arable products fell too low to make cultivation pay. Even where larger herds were kept, for milk or meat or both, key considerations were access to convenient summer grazing land, the ability to provide winter shelter, supply fodder and afford the necessary labour to tend the herd. Dairying was entirely manual work, and a single family would be obliged to hire help to cope with the daily milking and butter- and cheese-making from more than about 10 cows.⁶¹

⁵⁹J. de Vries: The Dutch rural economy in the golden age, 1500-1700 (London, 1974), pp. 130-36, tables 4.3-4.9. --: 'Landbouw in de noordelijke Nederlanden, 1490-1650', Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden, eds D. P. Blok et al., vii (Haarlem, 1980), p. 35. B. W. van de Kloot Meyburg: De economische ontwikkeling van een Zuid-Hollandsch dorp (Oudshoorn) tot in den aanvang der twintigste eeuw (The Hague, 1920).

⁶⁰J. de Vries: op. cit. (1974), p. 71. H. K. Roessingh: op. cit., table 9, p. 17, shows that of 552 farms in 1526 in the Veluwe region of Gelderland, 137 had 2 oxen, 122 had 10-19 oxen and 107 had 20-39 oxen.

⁶¹J. de Vries: op. cit. (1974), pp. 137-40.

Karnemolens or paardekarnen (horse-powered churns) could dramatically affect a household's output of dairy produce but, although first introduced in the 1660s, these were not in widespread use outside Holland and Friesland even by 1800.⁶²

The Classical writers had recorded their opinions about desirable features to look for in cattle. Varro recommended they:

"... should be well-formed, that is, clean-limbed, square-built, large, with blackish horns, wide forehead, large black eyes, hairy ears, narrow jaws, somewhat snub-nosed, not hump-backed, but with a slight depression of the spine, spreading nostrils, blackish lips, thick, long neck, with dewlap hanging down to the ankles, tail curling somewhat at the end with thick hair, with legs rather short and straight, knees prominent and a good distance apart, feet not wide and not splaying as they walk, the hoofs not widely cloven but with two toes smooth and of equal size, the skin not hard and rough to the touch."⁶³

And Virgil wrote:

"In a cow the following points should be looked for - a rough appearance, a coarse head, generous neck, and dewlaps hanging from jaw to leg; flanks as roomy as you like; everything built on a large scale, even the hoof; and shaggy ears under the crooked horns."⁶⁴

From the 16th century the influence of Dutch imported

⁶²J. Joor: op. cit., p. 67. J. de Vries: op. cit. (1974), pp. 184-5.

⁶³M. T. Varro: op. cit., bk II:5, p. 371.

⁶⁴Virgil: Georgics, bk III, pp. 56-7.

breeding stock on English native cattle began to be noted in the writings of a number of English farmers including Gervase Markham and Thomas Hale. They described the changing characteristics of cattle attributable to the influence of these imports - called the "Dutch Breed". The Dutch animals were:

"long legged, short-horned and good milkers, larger but less hardy, required more food and care."⁶⁵

Hale wrote:

"... the fine Dutch Breed have long Legs, short Horns and a full Body ... they are still carefully kept up without Mixture in Colour, and where they will yield two Gallons at a milking: but in order to this [sic] they require great Attendance and the best of Food."⁶⁶

John Mortimer (?1656-1736) commented that:

"... the best sort of Cows for the Pail, only they are tender and need very good keeping, are the long legged short horned Cow of the Dutch breed in some places of Lincolnshire, but most used in Kent; many of these cows will give two Gallons of Milk at a Meal"⁶⁷

From the new Dutch colonies in north America it was written:

"The tame cattle are in size and other respects about the same as in the Netherlands, but the English cattle and swine thrive and grow best, appearing to

⁶⁵J. Urquhart: op. cit., pp. 93-4.

⁶⁶T. Hale: Compleat body of husbandry, (London, 1756), p. 215.

⁶⁷J. Mortimer: The whole art of husbandry (London, 1707), p. 166. It was also recognised that "red or brown East Anglian cattle derived three characteristics from Dutch 17th century breeds: greater substance, higher milk yield and white markings". R. Trow-Smith: A history of British livestock husbandry, 1700-1900 (London, 1959), p. 26.

be better suited to the country than those from Holland. They require, too, less trouble, expense and attention; for it is not necessary in winter to look after such as are dry, or the swine, except that in the time of a deep snow they should have some attention. Milch cows are much less trouble than they are in Holland, as most of the time, if any care be requisite, it is only for the purpose of giving them occasionally a little hay."⁶⁸

The ending of the agricultural boom after about 1650 produced a significant downturn in the Dutch rural economy. Farmers who had previously been able to subsist comfortably with 10-25 morgen of land and approximately five cows found costs of supplies too great to offset the prices they could obtain for their products at market. Between 1650 and 1730 agricultural prices fell by 23-30%.⁶⁹ Many became bankrupt, unable, because of the small scale of their operations and the shortage of capital or credit, to do anything to bolster them through their difficulties.⁷⁰ Others soldiered on in ever increasing hardship, managing to subsist only on a meagre basis.

In this context probable cutbacks by some arable farmers

⁶⁸A. van der Donck et al: Vertoogh van Nieu-Neder-Land, weghens de ghelegentheydt, vruchtbaerheyd en soberen staet desselfs (The Hague, 1650); trans. in J. F. Jameson, ed.: Narratives of the New Netherlands (New York, 1909), p. 296.

⁶⁹J. Joor: op. cit., p. 60.

⁷⁰In the province of Overijssel the percentage of insolvencies in the total population rose from 19% in 1675 to 31% in 1767. In Nieuw-Beijerland the average price for a morgen of land was fl 800 in 1650 but only fl 230 in 1730. J. Joor: ibid., p. 66.

would have included buying in poorer quality seed for next year's crops and trying to make do with less manure, thereby reducing soil quality and crop yields. Dairy farmers would have reduced the amount of land they rented for summer pastures and would have tried to get by with lower volumes of winter fodder and poorer quality of supplies. The effects of these enforced economies would have shown up in the condition of the cattle and the fodder: the stock would have become undernourished, their health, fertility and milk productivity directly affected by the impoverishment of their diet and the lower standards of care. Their appearance would have shown signs of this: they would have looked scrawny, ribs and haunches prominent, coats clinging to their bones; their resistance to disease would have declined and the incidence of sickness would have risen and shown itself in sores and infestations, lethargic behaviour and, ultimately, raised mortality rates. The calves would have suffered too, being undersized at birth and thereafter stunted in their growth and at risk from disease as a result of inadequate nutrition. Especially in the years of bad winter weather and severe storms, fatalities would have been significantly increased in those herds where economic circumstances had pressured the farmers into withholding investment on the care of their stock.⁷¹

The slump was not uniform over the whole of the Netherlands:

⁷¹G. J. Hengeveld: op. cit., ii, p. 60.

it affected the coastal areas to a far greater extent than the inland zones. The major towns of Holland, though past their economic best as the century progressed, still supported large, relatively well-to-do populations who had money to spend, though the rural communities were much less secure. The overall population of North Holland decreased markedly after 1650 whereas in an inland province such as Twenthe it rose. However, within Overijssel, also an inland province, the urban population (Zwolle, Deventer, Kampen) stayed the same between 1475 and 1675 while the rural population increased by 55%.⁷² Yet in the Netherlands as a whole the population was 1.9 million in 1750, just as it had been 100 years earlier.⁷³

3.4 DAIRY FARMING

The processing of butter and cheese from milk has been practised since at least the 4th millennium BC.⁷⁴ Pliny found that good cheeses were made in Italy and other parts of the Empire:

"Luni cheeses from the borderland of Tuscany and Liguria - this cheese is remarkable for its size, in fact it is actually made to the weight of 1000 pounds

⁷²C. Lesger: 'Regionale tegenstellingen tijdens een periode van expansie, 1500-1650', P. C. M. Hoppenbrouwers et al.: op. cit., p. 55.

⁷³J. Joor: op. cit., p. 60. See J. de Vries: 'The Dutch rural economy and the landscape, 1590-1650', Dutch landscape: the early years (op. cit.), graph 1, p. 80.

⁷⁴Firm evidence comes from the ancient civilisations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. J. Clutton-Brock: op. cit., p. 62.

of cheese".⁷⁵

Butter is made from cream that has been skimmed off into a closed container and agitated or churned, causing the fat globules to stick together and float on top of the buttermilk. The buttermilk is drained and salt added to the butter, forming a firm waxy paste that can be spread or pressed at room temperature. It is high in fat (80%) and has been used for centuries as a cooking medium and for binding and flavouring dry foods. Cheese is made from full milk or milk that has had some or all of its cream removed: first the milk is placed in vats and rennet is added to make the solids coagulate into a curd. Then the curd is cut and heated and the whey is drained from it. The curd is pressed into its final shape and ripened by the action of bacteria contained in or added to the curd. Cheese is relatively high in protein and a much less expensive and more convenient source than meat. Once made it requires no further processing to be edible. The transmission of tuberculosis and other cattle diseases to humans through milk-borne organisms was a constant problem until the 19th century, when pasteurisation (heating the raw milk very briefly to 70°-80°C to kill the germs) became a common requirement. Until then, drinking raw milk was not safe, as Pliny noted,⁷⁶ and even now it is not a universal practice: in

⁷⁵Pliny: op. cit., bk XI:97, p. 585.

⁷⁶"Milk is less harmful when boiled ..." Pliny: op. cit., bk XXVIII:33, p. 89.

in central Africa and east Asia to this day people do not drink milk and their digestive systems are not adapted to absorbing the nutrients in it.⁷⁷

The Netherlands became renowned before the 17th century for its production and consumption of dairy products. Lodovico Guicciardini (1523-89) reported that:

"Alcmair is a very rich town, by reason that the country round about it, yeeldeth more pletie [sic] of butter and cheese, than any other place in Holland whatsoever".⁷⁸

Marcus Zuireus Boxhorn (1612-53) observed that:

"The pastures are very many and so fertile that the cows not only feed their calves but in addition supply the master's family and others with milk from which the best quality butter, and cheese of the highest reputation is made. The income which dairies in Holland receive is almost beyond estimation, for our cows twice - some of them even three times - a day give their milk".⁷⁹

Fynes Moryson wrote:

"Touching this peoples diet, Butter is the first and last dish at the Table, whereof they make all sawces, especially for fish, and thereupon by strangers they are merrily called Butter-mouths. They are much delighted with white meats, and the Bawers drink milke in stead of beere, and as well Men and Weomen, passing in boats from City to City for trade, carry with them cheese and boxes of butter for their

⁷⁷J. Clutton-Brock: op. cit., p. 62.

⁷⁸L. Guicciardini: Descrittione di tutti i paesi bassi (Antwerp, 1567); Eng. trans. Description of the Low Countries (London, 1593), p. 65.

⁷⁹M. Z. Boxhorn: Theatrum, sive Hollandiae comitatus et urbium nova descriptio, (Amsterdam, 1632), pp. 40, 41; English trans. in E. P. Prentice: op. cit. (1942), p. 101.

foode, whereupon in like sort strangers call them Butter boxes, and nothing is more ordinary then for Citizens of good accompt and wealth to sit at their dores, (even dwelling in the market place) holding in their hands and eating a great lumpe of bread and butter with a lunchen of cheese."⁸⁰

"They have excellent fat pastures, whereof each Aker is worth forty pound, or more to be purchased, and they pay tribute for every head of cattle feeding therein, as two stivers weekly for each cow for the Paile, the great number whereof may be coniectured, by the plenty of cheese exported out of Holland, and by the infinite quantity of cheese and butter they spend at home, being the most common food of all the people."⁸¹

Jean-Nicolas Parival (1605-69) observed:

"Entre les Paisans les uns sont le beurre & le fromage, les autres gaignent leur pain à tirer les tourbes qui sont transportées jusques au Provinces voisines. Tout les jours de marché ils apportent leur beurre, laict, petit laict, & laict de beurre aux villes, qui servent de nourriture aux gens de métier, dont ils sont grand profit".⁸²

Unless kept cool dairy products spoil so until refrigeration became available, storage for long periods would have been problematic, particularly in the warmer months of the year (when supplies would have been most abundant). Nevertheless, records show that large quantities of butter and cheese were being traded internally and exported: in the 12th century Delft butter was sent to Liège and Antwerp via Dordrecht.

⁸⁰F. Moryson: op. cit., bk III, p. 97.

⁸¹ibid., p. 286.

⁸²J.-N. Parival: Les délices de la Hollande (Amsterdam, 1669), p. 29.

Rhineland and Delftland butter was the best and sold for the highest prices. In the 15th century Kampen and Deventer received cheese and butter via Amsterdam shipped along the River IJ; by the 16th century Dutch dairy products could be bought in all the trading towns of western Europe and in all the towns along the Rhine in Germany.⁸³ North Holland specialised in cheese-making and produced about 10m kg per annum by the 17th century. Dairying in Friesland and North and South Holland overshadowed that in Groningen and Overijssel, where most of the production went for local consumption rather than export.⁸⁴ Holland's exports were worth fl 1m⁸⁵ and in 1697, over 1.7m kg of cheese were weighed.⁸⁶ J. Jonston observed:

"In Holland geven voornamentlijk de bonte overvloedigh melk. Op zommige plaatsen geeft yder Koe in de Zomer tijd dagelijck vier-en-viertig hominas, dat is omtrent twintig pinten, melk. In 't Zieckhuis van Amsterdam, gemeenlijk het Leproos oft Lazarus-huis genoemt, worden twe-en-twintig Koeyen gehouden, uit welke omtrent vijf hondert goude kronen jaarlijck van de melk en kaas gemaakt werd, behalven 't geen zy zelf dagelijk van node hebben, gelijk Pontanus zegt, van geloofwaardige luiden verstaan te hebben. Het is dan geen wonder, dat aldaar uitte kaas en boter, die buiten dat land verzonden werd, jaarlijck thien hondert duizend Karels guldens worden vergadert, gelijk wy by

⁸³C. P. Dogterom: Melk in Nederland (The Hague, 1980), pp. 14, 17.

⁸⁴J. Joor: op. cit., p. 67. See also Chapter 2, note 83, on Martin Schoockius's treatises on butter- and cheese-making, published in Groningen.

⁸⁵C. P. Dogterom: op. cit., p. 17.

⁸⁶D. L. Bakker: op. cit., p. 27.

Hadrianus Iunius lezen."⁸⁷

The manufacture of dairy produce on a sufficiently large scale to meet demand required farmers increasingly to specialise by devoting more of their land to grazing pastures and winter fodder crops, and by hiring labour to undertake the butter- and cheese-making. Trading in dairy products became a specialist activity too and by the 15th century there are records of individuals whose occupation was given as caescoper (cheese merchant) and the family name 'Caescoper' appears for example in the accounts of the city of Rotterdam in 1426. The kaasdragers (cheese dealers) handled the weighing and sale of cheese at market; in Alkmaar the kaasdragersgilde had 28 members in 1630.⁸⁸

Improving a cow's milk yield depends on influencing the physiology of milk production. Lactation is triggered by pregnancy and maintained after parturition by suckling or milking. Artificially, through prolonged milking, lactation can be considerably extended although the quality of the milk will decline. A lactating cow has to convert the food

⁸⁷[In Holland principally the pied cattle give abundant milk. In some places in the summer time each cow gives 24 hominas a day, that is about twenty pints of milk. In the hospital in Amsterdam usually called the House of the Leper or of Lazarus, 22 cows are kept, from which about 500 gold crowns of milk and cheese are made a year apart from that which they need themselves daily, as Pontanus said, from reliabale sources. It is no surprise then that ten hundred karels gulden are earned annually from the white cheese and butter that are exported, as can be read in Hadrianus Iunius.] J. Jonston: op. cit., p. 41.

⁸⁸C. P. Dogterom: op. cit., p. 14.

it ingests into milk in addition to maintaining its own body condition and health, so intake quantity and quality will directly affect the milk's value. The usual fodder for Dutch 17th-century cows was grass in the summer and hay and seedcake (the pressed husks of coleseed, from which the oil had been extracted) in the winter. This produced two kinds of butter: 'red' in the summer and 'white' in the winter.⁸⁹ The nutritional content of the feed would have varied with the condition of the pastures and with the care with which the fodder was made and stored. Any loss of quality would show in lower yields; and overmilking by prolonging the lactation beyond that which the cow could sustain would further debilitate the animal.

The reports of Dutch cattle imported into the new colonies in North America compare them unfavourably to the English imports in terms of hardiness.⁹⁰ By the 18th-century, English breeds had become the most highly prized European stock for dairying and beef, not least because the ravages of runderpest had reduced the Netherlands's herds to a shadow of their former standing. Thomas Bewick was able to boast that for English cattle:

"The quantity of milk given by cows is various: some will yield about six quarts in one day; while others give from ten to fifteen, and sometimes even twenty. The richness of the pasture contributes not a little to its increase. There have been

⁸⁹J. Joor: op. cit., p. 67. P. N. Boekel: De zuivelexport van Nederland tot 1813 (Utrecht, 1929), p. 42.

⁹⁰See note 68 above.

instances of cows giving upwards of thirty quarts of milk in one day. In such cases there is a necessity for milking them thrice. From the milk of some cows, twelve or fourteen pounds of butter are made in a week."⁹¹

How abundant was the supply of milk from Dutch 17th-century dairy cattle? Various sources report on the yields and these can be compared with figures from as early as Aristotle's time (see Appendix 3). The interpretation of these details has to take into account likely changes over time in nutrition and in genetic endowment: the grass and fodder on which 20th-century dairy herds are fed is likely to have been grown on soil that has been deliberately treated with fertilisers and other additives to maximise the available nutrients and to counteract the deleterious effects of intensive cultivation. The cattle themselves are carefully bred for their efficiency at converting grass and fodder to milk. 17th-century pastures were generally manured but few had the benefit of being treated with lime or peat: usually farmers simply attempted to drain excess water from the land and possibly alternated grass with other crops to replenish some of the nutrients lost from the soil. Furthermore, the several historical units of measurement are not simple to convert to a modern standard. Nevertheless the figures give the impression that Dutch 16th- and 17th-century milk yields were generally rather lower than those of earlier and later periods in the Netherlands, although they demonstrate that

⁹¹T. Bewick: General history of quadrupeds (London, 1790), p. 24.

it was possible to achieve much higher yields with good feeding and good husbandry.⁹² However, the sense from the literary sources quoted above seems more optimistic, and may therefore be taken as a sign that a 'myth' of Dutch dairy cattle's excellence was being culturally fostered.⁹³

3.5 THE COUNTRYSIDE

Despite the downturn in the agricultural sector after 1650, the countryside did not become deserted, and farming remained the principal livelihood of over 50% of the male working population.⁹⁴ Town dwellers depended on farmers for most foodstuffs including meat, milk, cheese, butter, fruit and vegetables, eggs and bread. Industrial crops were also of increasing importance - flax (for linen), madder (a red dye), coleseed (for oil and seedcake), hops and barley (for beer) and tobacco. Between 1550 and 1650, while the rural economy generally benefited from a period of positive growth, a journey through the coastal provinces would have shown the fields under active cultivation, the pastures occupied by grazing livestock. A considerable variety of arable crops would have been on view including the cereals

⁹²J. de Vries: op. cit. (1974), pp. 143-4.

⁹³The poet Hubert Korneliszoon Foot (1689-1733) referred to the archetypal Dutch dairy cow as "'t levend botervat" [the living butter barrel] in his pastoral poem 'Mei'. Gedichten, 3 vols (Leiden, 3/1766), iii, pp. 86-92 (89). The paintings could similarly have strengthened the archetype through their idealisation of the work of milking and dairying. See pp. 146-8 below.

⁹⁴B. H. Slicher van Bath: op. cit. (1963), p. 24.

wheat, rye, spelt, barley, oats and buckwheat; the fodder crops clover, peas, turnips, peas and vetches; and the industrial crops mentioned above. In addition the expanding urban population and the success of Dutch export trade stimulated horticulture and market gardening to develop crops new to the Netherlands, particularly flowers, fruits and fine vegetables. Except in the worst of the winter there would have been people at work in the fields, ploughing, sowing, harvesting, pruning, spreading manure, building haystacks, digging, planting, maintaining drainage channels, mending farm buildings, as well as tending the herds of cattle and other stock. Sheep had to be sheared, cattle, goats and sheep milked, eggs collected from the chickens, animals slaughtered from time to time for meat. Farming was mostly unmechanised, and therefore heavy, manual work with the help of cattle, horses and mules to pull and carry loads and windmills to pump water from the land. Produce and livestock had to be transported to market and supplies and equipment brought back to the farm. The country roads and canals would have seen a lot of farm traffic, especially to and from the main market centres on market days. There were weekly, monthly and annual markets for the different sectors, some established over hundreds of years.⁹⁵ The main river and sea ports were important centres for agricultural trade, where the unloading and loading of cargoes of grain, livestock and other commodities would have been a common

⁹⁵See Appendix 2 for details.

sight.

Town dwellers would therefore have been used to seeing cattle, whether at the docks or being driven along the streets to the market place or at the market itself, as well as on the roads into and out of town, on the ferries and in the fields and farmyards, which the town dwellers passed by as they themselves travelled on horse, by coach, in ferries or river boats between towns or when venturing into the immediate countryside simply for leisure. Travel was easy by water: distances were small and the canalboat services were both inexpensive and frequent;⁹⁴ road routes were less efficient: the muddy, rutted tracks were liable to flooding and in the winter months may have been completely impassable. The main market place was usually in the centre of the town, nearby the town hall, weighhouse and principal church, but livestock would also have been sold at the docks, at the ferry terminal or on land outside the town centre. Specialisation and division of labour was well developed, as indicated by the existence of the ossenweijersqilde (beef farmers' guild). The members had rights to use the common land of the town to graze their stock. In Haarlem, the vleeshouwersqilde (butchers' guild)

⁹⁴For example, J. ten Hoorn: Reis-boek door de vereenigde Nederlandsche provincien ... (Amsterdam, 1689), pp. 47-50 lists direct services from Dordrecht, mostly daily or twice weekly, to the major towns in South Holland and Zeeland. See also J. de Vries: 'Barges and capitalism. Passenger transportation in the Dutch economy', A. A. G. Bijdragen, xxi (1978); as book (Utrecht, 1981), pp. 57-8.

was obliged to buy fattened cattle from the ossenweijers. If a price could not be agreed, the ossenweijers had the right to slaughter their cattle and offer the meat for open sale in the vleeshal (meat market hall). The long-standing importance of the meat trade to Haarlem is underlined by the fact that a market and vleeshal is first recorded there as early as 1266. The new vleeshal was built in 1600 "...meer nae een Paleijs dan nae een hal",⁹⁷ and the waag (weighhouse) and town hall were combined in the same building. The Haarlem archives also record that individual members of the ossenweijersgilde were sent to Jutland on behalf of the guild to purchase thin cattle in February of each year.⁹⁸ Arable farmers also purchased from cattle farmers extra supplies of manure to supplement that which their own livestock produced,⁹⁹ and landowners with no livestock, such as some horticultural specialists, would also have bought cattle manure, the only other option being the purchase of town refuse.¹⁰⁰

The whole Dutch economy was still heavily dependent on agriculture in the 17th century, as it had been for hundreds of years, notwithstanding the pace of industrial development. This meant that the livelihoods and occupations

⁹⁷T. Schrevelius: De eerste stichtinghe der stadt Haerlem (1648), quoted in G. J. Hengeveld: op. cit., ii, pp. 20-21.

⁹⁸C. P. Dogterom: op. cit., p. 88.

⁹⁹B. H. Slicher van Bath: op. cit. (1963), p. 257.

¹⁰⁰J. de Vries: op. cit. (1974), pp. 150-51.

of many other people apart from country dwellers were affected by farming: those involved in international maritime trade in agricultural products (ship builders and owners, merchants, bankers, sailors), in inland shipping (the ferry companies, water authorities, ferrymen, boatbuilders), in urban industries dependent on agriculture (baking, brewing, tobacco, oils, leather and textiles). Personal wealth was enjoyed by a larger proportion of the population than ever before: burgers as well as regents could afford a comfortable life. And with the wealth and accumulation of capital came opportunities to invest surpluses. One such investment was in land reclamation. 30,000 ha were drained between 1540 and 1650 (compared with only a further 600 ha over the next 100 years, the period of relative economic downturn).¹⁰¹ Until about 1650 demand for land was high, not only to accommodate urban expansion but to bring more land into agricultural use. Investors who were prepared to share in the financing of reclamation works could subsequently benefit from rental income from the newly established land; a good rate of return was ensured while rents were high. Thus in the Noorderkwartier between 1540 and 1650 a total of 19,314 ha was reclaimed, including the

¹⁰¹"The position of agriculture became increasingly difficult because of the fall in the prices of products (mainly cheese and cattle) on the one hand, and the increase in costs (mainly maintenance of the water containment works and the burden of taxation) on the other. It all culminated between about 1730 and 1755 in the most serious crisis so far known to us in the history of Dutch agriculture." A. M. van der Woude: 'Het noorderkwartier', 3 vols, A. A. G. Bijdragen, xvi (1972-3), 2, p. 613.

huge inland lakes: Beemster (1612; 7174 ha), Purmer (1622; 2680 ha) and Schermermeer (1635; 4828 ha).¹⁰² Between 1500 and 1650 reclaimed land increased the land under cultivation in the Noorderkwartier by 40%.¹⁰³

Reclamation involved tipping ballast to raise the water level, installing drainage channels, pumping the excess water away and spreading or making up the soil on which cultivation could eventually be established, maintaining the drainage of the polder and protecting it from flooding by raising and strengthening surrounding dikes and walls. The procedure was labour intensive, it involved large-scale earth works and windmill construction. In the more remote areas temporary dwellings for the workforce were erected and these sometimes remained, subsequently occupied by polder residents. Windmills began to be used to pump water from the polders in the 15th century. The landscape of the coastal provinces would therefore have been subject to constant change as numerous polder schemes and dike-building campaigns progressed. From start to finish each such scheme took a few years to complete, after which water and road routes would be established to connect the polders to the existing transport networks. Pockets of activity would be localised in time and area, though between 1600 and 1650 it must have been difficult to travel any distance in North or

¹⁰²A. M. van der Woude: ibid., vi/3, p. 616.

¹⁰³ibid., xvi/2, p. 612.

South Holland without coming across evidence of land reclamation, or to have escaped the sounds, smells and sights of agriculture for long.

Polders, apart from expanding the available agricultural land, provided estates where rich town dwellers could build country houses and gardens, in order to escape from the congestion of the towns. Land ownership was no longer restricted to the hereditary regent class, who already had their country properties. During the 17th century many buitenplaatsen (country houses) were built: these were ample properties in their own grounds with formal gardens and ponds, where the owners entertained their friends, relaxed, enjoyed the rustic peace¹⁰⁴ and from where they went on trips to neighbouring districts, to admire the unspoilt countryside of the inland provinces and contemplate the ruins of medieval castles. Many castles and manor houses had been damaged by the Spanish army in the 16th century or through earlier conflicts, and by the 17th century:

"... had become picturesque ruins which stirred patriotic feeling..."¹⁰⁵

The ruins were popular subjects with artists and included such sites as the Castle of Spangen and Huis te Kleef, Brederode Castle¹⁰⁶ and the Valkhof at Nijmegen.¹⁰⁷ Town

¹⁰⁴Gardens of earthly delight: sixteenth and seventeenth century Netherlandish gardens (exh. cat. by K. J. Hellerstedt, Pittsburgh, Frick Art Museum, 1986).

¹⁰⁵Dutch landscape: the early years (op. cit.), p. 136.

¹⁰⁶ibid, p. 28.

dwellers themselves may also have kept one or two cows and other animals on land they rented or owned outside the town, a short walk from their homes. Joannes Blaeu's map of Dordrecht (1648)¹⁰⁸ shows the neat arrangement of parcels of land bordering the town walls and dikes used for pastures and gardens. The pastures would have been for animals to graze, the gardens for flowers and vegetables for household use as well as being a place to stroll and sit in away from the bustle and noise of town streets.¹⁰⁹

The appearance of the countryside was changing no less than that of the towns, where construction work was also altering the townscape year by year. Not only dwelling houses but public, official construction schemes were done: weighhouses, city gates and new harbours as well as manufacturies, banks and churches, so that the distinctive look of a town as seen from the country would itself have been undergoing modifications.

¹⁰⁷See pp. 188-91 below on Cuyp's View of Nijmegen. See also P. E. van Reuen: Middeleeuwse kastelen in Nederland (Bussum, 1965).

¹⁰⁸C. Beudeker, ed.: Steedeboek van Holland en Westvriesland, i (1718), f. 9. See S. Reiss: op. cit., p. 216.

¹⁰⁹Some who rented out their country property could require their tenants to hold rooms in readiness for them for the summer months; tenants could be expected to wait on their landlords and to fetch and carry them from town. P. Hendrix et al.: Dordrecht, stad in de ruimte (The Hague, 1974), p. 109.

3.6 PICTORIAL TRANSFORMATIONS OF ACTUALITY

Dutch 17th-century pictures of cattle may seem to modern eyes on first glance to be naturalistic, credible accounts of the subjects they depict. Nevertheless, indications from non-pictorial data suggest the pictures glossed appearances by selecting certain features, giving preferential emphasis to particular details and omitting others entirely. Furthermore the preferences are not random but follow a purposeful direction. Even if artists did not go as far as some cattle painters known to Thomas Bewick:

"Many of the animals were, during this rage for fat cattle, fed up to as great a weight and bulk as it was possible for feeding to make them; but this was not enough; they were to be figured monstrously fat before the owners of them could be pleased. Painters were to be found who were quite subservient to this guidance, and nothing else would satisfy."¹¹⁰

they represented actuality in terms that an observer unaware of Dutch 17th-century cultural imperatives would have found markedly deviant from the evidence of his eyes.

In the pictures the frequency of pure-coloured cattle, particularly pure red, is too high; that of the other unbroken colours and of red-and-white is relatively lower

¹¹⁰D. H. Boalch: Prints and paintings of British farm livestock, 1780-1910 (Harpenden, 1958), p. xvii. An anonymous painting of a prize ox, dated 1564 (Amsterdam, Historisch Museum; illustrated in Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 1), states the animal weighed 1912 ponden (936 kg); the gift to the Duke of Alva of two oxen in 1568 from the States of Holland included one weighing 3000 ponden (1470 kg). G. J. Hengeveld: op. cit., ii, p. 60.

than would be expected; and the virtual absence of black-and-white is conspicuous. Contemporary writings together with the treatises of M. T. Varro and other Classical authors made explicit the preference for pure over pied colours; pure red was usually the most highly rated. Apart from Virgil (and perhaps Fitzherbert) no other writer seems to consider pied cattle worthy of favourable mention. Yet farm accounts and other documentary evidence show not only that red-and-white was the commonest marking but that black-and-white was far from rare. Cattle in the pictures are almost invariably depicted large: they look healthy and well fed and display no signs of undernourishment, nor do they seem to be victims of declining standards of husbandry consequent upon economic downturn in the rural economy. Apart from Paulus Potter's etchings of cattle,¹¹¹ a remarkable antidote to the majority of 17th-century cattle pictures, the impression of fit, sturdy herds is consistently repeated. Potter's scrawny, underfed beasts, with bones sticking through their unhealthy skin, their drooping posture betraying exhaustion, their decrepit state so vividly represented, show a quite different image, one that seems to discard any gloss and, if it was objectively accurate, may denote just how far the majority of the cattle pictures were from being faithful representations of actuality.¹¹²

¹¹¹See p. 89 above.

¹¹²But these may have served another purpose, in which perhaps vanitas meanings were intended and understood.

As the previous chapter indicated, the pictures consistently avoid illustrating the key stages of the cattle's life cycle and essential bodily functions, most of which must have been visible even to passing observers. Because very old or very young animals are not presented, an impression is maintained that the whole cattle population was comprised entirely of individuals at the peak of their prime. Cattle spend a long time (about 20% of every day) grazing and it is remarkable that the pictures so seldom show them with their heads lowered to the ground in the act of eating. The effect of concentrating in the pictures on certain 'poses' or 'states' to the exclusion of others has the effect of divorcing the cattle image from the actual details of ordinary, everyday existence. This elevates cattle to a privileged status, where procreation and the maintenance of essential life processes that ensure health, well-being, fertility, maturation and growth are able to be taken for granted. The absence of depictions of these aspects of actuality transforms cattle into 'mythic' subjects, where such blatant 'naturalism' becomes out of place. Just as the gods are regarded as being freed from the need to perform natural functions to which ordinary mortals are bound, so cattle acquire through the pictures a similar god-like privileged state of unworldliness.

The farms and farming activity are presented in the Dutch 17th-century cattle pictures, rather like the cattle, as monuments to ideals rather than as neutral renderings of

observable actuality. It has been shown that virtually no hints are given of the full range of farm work nor of the problems encountered in growing crops and raising stock. Instead farming is represented as a peaceful, relaxed - even leisurely - occupation and the rural surroundings are gentle havens: decorous, soothing and charming, not muddy, smelly or untidy. Yet in the pre-mechanised 17th century, farming undoubtedly did depend on strenuous physical work often in hard circumstances. Furthermore, the essential purpose of farming: raising and selling produce and stock as a means of supporting existence, is barely recorded in the pictures. There is hardly even a sketchy idea from them of what was involved in the conduct of dairying or trade in livestock, or of the significance of buying and selling to the economics of individual farmers' households. Instead, the cattle are presented as embodiments of society's capital¹¹³ (as they had been regarded since earliest times), sanitised, untied from everyday clutter. It is as if the intention was to unload the pictorial 'reality' of anything that would link its subject-matter too closely to observable and experienced actuality. In that way farming could be detached from mundane associations and re-presented as a state of mythic, effortless prosperity.

The cattle paintings allude to milking but there are a number of ways in which they transform appearances. The

¹¹³See pp. 83-5 above.

milking is often shown being performed in the fields, often an improbably long way from the dairy buildings.¹¹⁴ Some pictures show heavy, highly polished metal vessels into which milk from the pail is poured. These would have been quite impractical to carry any distance by hand when full and would only allow one cow's milk to be dealt with at a time.¹¹⁵ The cattle in the field are spotlessly clean even though a casual glance would have confirmed that patches of dirt cling to real cattle left to graze in the open. The milk itself is rarely shown in the pictures, nor is it seen being made into butter or cheese. Even stalinterieurs give no indication of the processes or equipment involved in dairying. Yet whether a farm was in a district specialising in dairying or in one where cows were kept principally for manuring arable land, it would have been hard for a contemporary observer to avoid seeing evidence of the activities involved in butter- and cheese-making. In addition the paintings are virtually silent about the transport of dairy products to market for sale, thereby concealing the means of achieving dairying's commercial benefits, just as they omit depictions of its infrastructure. Instead, gentle milkmaids are shown

¹¹⁴Isack van Ostade (1621-49): Milkmaid with horse and cow (private collection). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 39. Cornelis and Herman Saftleven: Landscape with a milkmaid (1678; London private collection). See ibid., fig. 107.

¹¹⁵The pails and vats, cheese kettles and presses that dairy farmers owned were worth enough to be itemised in farm inventories. Those containing copper and iron parts were the most valuable. J. de Vries: op. cit. (1974), pp. 144, 216.

fulfilling an unhurried, harmonious role, once again underlining the characterisation of farming as assuring effortless prosperity.

The paintings eliminate anything that would portray hard work, and the effect is to transform the actuality of farming into a timeless, eternal aspect of the 'natural' world: there is no discontinuity between man and his surroundings, no conflict of interests, no challenge to the original, 'natural' order of things. In contrast, drawings and prints offered a different focus and did depict more of the quotidian details. For example, scenes of milk being churned were used in emblems such as Visscher's 'In de rommelingh ist vet'¹¹⁶ and in the frontispiece by Adriaen van de Venne to Jacob Cats's Self-stryt dat is krachtige beweeginge van vleas en geest.¹¹⁷ A chalk drawing by Rubens of a maid churning is also known.¹¹⁸ And yet the paintings are generally consistent in opting to give the countryside a fictional appearance, particularly artificial in relation to the coastal districts, which underwent intensive land reclamation and agricultural development. Apparently unchanging rural views are emphatically preferred to evidence of new polders; distant town views to close-ups of

¹¹⁶See Chapter 2, note 57.

¹¹⁷J. Cats: Alle de wercken, so ouden als nieuwe, van de heer Iacob Cats, 2 vols, (Amsterdam, 1655). See S. Schama: The embarrassment of riches (op. cit.), fig. 178.

¹¹⁸1618-20; Chatsworth, Derbys. See L. Vergara: op. cit., p. 49.

urban profiles undergoing modifications. The towns are shown enclosed by walls, separate and apart, not encroaching through expansion on the surrounding countryside. Old buildings (castle ruins) are preferred to new structures (windmills), old waterways (rivers) to new ones (canals). The weather is usually calm, warm, benevolent, not stormy or inclement; the pastures look permanently lush, the fields well-drained and fertile:¹¹⁹ even though other records tell a different story. The countryside was transformed, in the pictures, into an eternally bountiful and harmonious paradise. No one would guess from them that this was a period of active land reclamation, building construction and transport expansion, or that the rural economy was under stress.¹²⁰

The people in the landscape, tending the herds, strolling or

¹¹⁹The Italianate landscapes made little or no attempt to refer to the actuality of the Netherlands: their hilly contours and golden sun unashamedly exchange flat land, large grey skies and low horizons for a warmer, softer place.

¹²⁰"... the depression of 1650-1750 was not - as has often been stated - a depression exclusively or even primarily, in crop farming. In fact the depression was even more severe for dairy farmers as they were not able to make use of the methods by which crop farmers could try to soften the blow such as increasing production by intensification of labour and/or by changing over to other crops. Dairy farming is less flexible than crop farming and can be adapted to changing circumstances only with great difficulty. Financially the secular depression between 1650 and 1750 hit the dairy farmers in North Holland hard." A. M. van der Woude: 'The long-term movement of rent for pastureland in North Holland and the problem of profitability in agriculture', Productivity of land and agricultural innovation in the Low Countries, 1250-1800, eds H. van der Wee and E. van der Cauwenberghe (Leuven, 1978), p. 177.

resting by the roads, chatting unhurriedly, all know their place. Well-dressed equestrian figures enjoy the unquestioning deference of subservient peasantry whose impeccably clean clothes are picturesquely ragged. Everyone is calm, restrained, perhaps smiling; not burdened with problems, they are at ease and blend comfortably with the surroundings: they look as if they belong and have always belonged: they cause no sense of disequilibrium in the 'natural' settings they occupy. In addition the suppression of details of family life and personal relationships eliminates from the pictures a full account of domestic existence: child-rearing, mouths to feed, bodies to wash, clothe and shoe. The men and women often appear unbound by responsibilities: such freedom releases them from the obligations and burdens of family life or the ties of marriage and allows them to engage in and enjoy spontaneous encounters that may arise.

These aesthetic choices, because they are naturalistically depicted, could deceive the unwary observer into thinking the pictures are an unbiased, neutral account of Dutch 17th-century cattle husbandry and the rural world:

"The fascination of Dutch painting of the seventeenth century lies in its consistently brilliant and delicate technique; in its restraint, a quality seen to perfection in Ter Borch and Cuyp; and in an all-embracing realism, a passionate interest in everyday happenings and in the appearance of the Dutch countryside and of the Dutch towns and

cities."¹²¹

What must, however, be remembered is that the artists deliberately adopted a selective vision in order to construct pictures that played down or omitted factual details, those parts of actuality regarded as inappropriate to the purposes of the work. In so doing they provided through the pictures an alternative to actuality, in an illusionistic naturalism, which was internally consistent, and bore close relation to some features of the real world, but whose resemblance to that world was limited by a series of conscious and unconscious choices, shaped by the cultural imperatives discussed above.

Why were so many specific aspects of actuality unwelcome in the pictures? What determined that certain preferences should be strongly favoured? These choices imply a firm pattern of meanings in the subject-matter, associations that have become lost, not only because the pictorial 'vocabulary' has not been re-learned but because subsequent depictions of the same subject-matter have adopted the same motifs without necessarily following the same set of meanings. Dutch 18th-century veestukken, particularly the works of admirers and followers of the 17th-century artists, mimicked their models' compositions and treatment of cattle, perhaps without consciously recognising the motivation of the earlier masters' illusionistic naturalism. And this

¹²¹Dutch pictures from the Royal Collection (exh. cat. by O. Millar, London, Queen's Gallery, 1971), p. 35.

occurred in a society whose rural world looked even less like the depicted 'realism'.¹²²

To understand the 17th-century artists' objectives more clearly, it must be asked why they opted to show mainly pure-coloured cattle in preference to ones with broken colours; why they omitted black-and-white markings almost entirely; why they presented the animals predominantly large and healthy instead of including imperfect or weak ones. Why did they not depict the landscape and the people more as they actually were? What was it about actuality that was undesirable? What was it about the pictorial illusions of 'reality' that were better? Some preferences may be straightforward to identify: for example fat, sound cattle obviously seem a better advertisement for farming's achievements than underfed, sick ones. But what was 'wrong' with pied colours? What negative associations were particularly provoked by black-and-white markings? In what ways were the conventions of family relationships so out of place that the details had to be suppressed? Why did farm work have to be concealed? It might be thought that work would have been well regarded, given the Calvinist teachings on virtuous sobriety.¹²³ Land reclamation schemes and

¹²²This was referred to on page 49 above; see also p. 268 below.

¹²³"De soerheid, de strengheid van levensopvatting, het zondebesef, de moraal in ruimste zin - ook wie niet zuinig was, was een zondaar - die de calvinistische leer predikte, was ook voor hen [kunstenaars, wetenschapsmensen en regenten] gewoonlijk kenmerkend. Hetzelfde gold voor de zakenlieden." [Sobriety, a severe outlook on life, the

agricultural development could have been celebrated as socially worthwhile constructive enterprise. What cultural imperatives caused actuality to be perceived as needing 'correction', and how did these dictate what had to be introduced into the pictures? What was it that allowed the 'pictorial reality' to exist quite comfortably alongside an evidently different outside world? What needs did the pictures of cattle and landscapes meet that the cattle and landscapes themselves could not serve? How did the pictures influence enjoyment of the natural world? What uncomfortable messages was actuality sending out, which the pictures could counteract and modify through their 'improved' versions?

To answer these questions the contemporary cultural imperatives recognised by artists and their patrons have to be identified. Clues lie in the aesthetic values of the times, the particular significance and purposes of art to that society. Some of this is revealed through contemporary taste for other kinds of pictures: genre scenes, portraits, still-lives and history pictures. However, landscapes, as a distinct type of image, and cattle pictures as a specialty within that, possess features of their own and therefore merit specific study. Ancient cultures valued cattle for religious purposes, as sacrificial offerings, as embodiments

awareness of sin, morality in the widest sense - also whoever was not thrifty was a sinner - that the Calvinist teaching preached, was also generally characteristic of them [artists, scientists and regents]. The same holds for business people.] G. Verwey: op. cit., p. 410.

of deities and of godly attributes. There is a long-established association of cattle with nature's life-giving fecundity as represented by the earth, terra. Cattle were also a measure of individual and social property, an index of worth and status. Subsequently cultures maintained the association between cattle, natural bounty and social prosperity, and in Christian Europe the spiritual and ritualistic meanings were expanded to include political functions. This was particularly so by the 17th century in the Netherlands, where cattle became a symbol of the nation, cattle husbandry having come to play a leading role in the success of the economy. Nationhood was a resonant concept for a society that had fought for and won its independence from Spanish Catholic rule, and which had safeguarded its proud self-sufficiency from foreign threat. The Dutch maritime interests: a well-equipped, proficient navy, successful seaborne trade with the East Indies and a growing number of distant colonial possessions, proclaimed to the world that a small nation, answerable only to its citizens, represented by the citizens' freely chosen leaders through a decentralised form of provincial government, therefore no longer constrained by the greed of an absentee Catholic monarchy, could perform magnificently on the world stage.

Yet the Dutch achievement was relatively short-lived: well before the end of the 17th century stagnation had set in and the former momentum could not be sustained. Previously purposeful energy seemed to lose its goal and become

dissipated; the United Provinces turned in on themselves while the French assumed the mantle of European pre-eminence. Nevertheless, during the 'golden age' in the Netherlands, perhaps four or five generations participated in their nation's unprecedented prosperity and self-esteem. They could without challenge observe and enjoy material and cultural benefits on a significant scale.¹²⁴ But before their very eyes, the Dutch people, particularly those in the coastal provinces, could see their own landscape transformed by the results of their culture's success. Because the veestukken and landscapes hide this actuality, it must be assumed that there was an institutionalised ambivalence towards it. The values that the 'pictorial reality' chose to celebrate are those of an idealised past where time stands still, all is peace and harmony, where the natural world seamlessly accommodates man, where the benevolence of God's creation is a key constituent of each picture. Commercial exploitation of natural resources, imposition of man-made activity on the natural environment and interference with the natural order - these are screened out, and the cattle, the landscape, the people and their activities re-presented in comforting terms, to relieve the spirit and bolster self-esteem.¹²⁵ These aesthetic transformations can now be

¹²⁴S. Schama: The embarrassment of riches (op. cit.), pp. 290-323.

¹²⁵On the cattle pictures of Paulus Potter, Walsh has written: "... Potter's stylistic emphasis on rational space, pervasive light, and naturalistic detail complements the painter's philosophical outlook. His primary theme is the prosperity of the Dutch countryside, which reflects the contemporary respect for nature and the eagerness for

examined in selected works by Cuyp.

political peace. Secondary but closely related themes of vigilance and of harmonious government also mirror political sentiments of the time. Above all, in the representation of a true Dutch Arcadia, his paintings are reflections of a national pride that pervaded mid-seventeenth-century Holland." A. L. Walsh: Paulus Potter: his works and their meaning (diss., Columbia University, 1985), p. 423.

In his own day, Cuyp may not have been thought of principally as a cattle painter. His posthumous reputation now labels him a master of that genre and landscape, even though his most highly regarded works include equestrian portraits, town views and marine subjects; pure veestukken comprise only about a quarter of his output, as will be shown. Houbraken wrote in 1718:

"Hem daarentegen scheen het evenveel te wezen wat hy ook maakte. Ossen, Koeijen, Schapen, Paerden, Fruit, Landschap, stil water met Scheepen; 't scheen hem alles onverschillig te wezen, en daar men zig over wonderen moet, is, dat hy alles even fraai en natuurlyk schilderde."¹

This chapter studies precisely what he chose to depict in the cattle pictures and the likely contemporary inferences arising from his particular treatment of these subjects. A summary of the catalogues raisonnés and an analysis of the general stylistic features of the cattle pictures are followed by detailed discussion of certain examples.

4.1 CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS

The absence of authentic signatures or dates from most of Cuyp's works together with the proliferation of copies and

¹[On the other hand it seems to have been all the same to him what he painted. Oxen, cows, sheep, horses, fruit, landscape, calm water with shipping; there seems to have been no difference for him; and what is astonishing about that is that he painted everything fine and naturally.] A. Houbraken: op. cit., i (1718), p. 249. Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719), also a Dordtenaar, was 31 years old when Cuyp died, and the two artists probably knew each other.

forgeries has inflated the number of attributed paintings, making the correct definition of his oeuvre highly problematic. The earliest two catalogues raisonnés demonstrate this, their compilers having found the task of rejecting so many wrongly ascribed pictures too controversial. The first was published in 1834 by the British art dealer John Smith in an eight-volume series on selected northern masters.² It includes 280 works and was based on sale catalogues and other secondary sources as well as on personal observations. By then Cuyp was very favourably regarded in Britain; collectors had acquired well over half his output, in addition to a considerable number of doubtful pieces, and the market had seen high prices paid for many of these works.³ Smith introduced his list with sentiments that seem to recall Wilson's and Boydell's of the previous century:

"It is quite evident that these estimable works, now so much coveted, were, during his life, and for nearly a century after, looked upon by his countrymen with lukewarm indifference; for, by a reference to numerous Dutch catalogues of the principal collections sold in Holland, down to the year 1750, there is no example of any picture by his hand selling for more than thirty florins, or something less than three pounds sterling. Soon after the period above named, a gradual advance in their value took place, in consequence of the repeated demand for

²J. 'Smith: A catalogue of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French painters, 8 vols (London, 1829-37), v (1834), pp. 279-368; Supplement (London, 1842), pp. 649-67. See also 'Smith's catalogue raisonné [...]: a memoir of the author by his grandson', Connoisseur, v (1903), pp. 114-16.

³See page 15 above.

them by English and French dealers; and at the sale of the celebrated collection of M. Vander Linden Van Slingelandt, at Dort, in 1785, public opinion was unequivocally pronounced upon their merits, by the payment of prices in some measure commensurate with their beauty, but which have since been in many instances more than quadrupled."⁴

A further 59 works were added by Smith in a Supplement published in 1842, and the total of 339 formed the core of a revised and much enlarged catalogue raisonné prepared by the Dutch art historian Cornelis Hofstede de Groot.

This appeared 66 years later, initially in German, in the second volume of a 10-volume series on Dutch 17th-century masters (HdG).⁵ Cases of double counting and of uncertain identification (sometimes acknowledged) helped to swell the total number of works to 1588. Hofstede de Groot too had to rely on various secondary sources; in fact he listed three quarters of the paintings (1198) unseen. He nevertheless claimed that he had omitted from the catalogue all those works he did not consider originals, both for reasons of space and:

"... to spare the collectors the pain of seeing their pictures described as

⁴J. Smith: op. cit. (1834), pp. 284-5.

⁵C. Hofstede de Groot: Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts, 10 vols (Esslingen and Paris, 1907-28), ii (1908), pp. 5-246. English trans. E. G. Hawke: A catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch painters of the seventeenth century, 8 vols (London, 1908-27), ii (1909), pp. 1-248.

unauthentic."⁶

He divided the paintings into 11 categories, which he called: religious (28), mythology, allegory, proverbs (7), historical scenes (18), genre pieces (71), portraits (202), landscapes (1070), church interiors (20), stable interiors (62), various animals (51), studies of animals (6) and still-lives (53). The landscapes (67% of the total) were further divided into nine groups: identified views (28), landscapes with cattle (437), scenes with horsemen (327), hunting scenes (41), river, sea, shipping (111), coast (14), miscellaneous landscapes (75), moonlight (17) and winter (20).

The third and most recent catalogue raisonné, by the British art dealer Stephen Reiss (R), appeared another 67 years later, in 1975.⁷ Reiss rejected about 90% (1433 pictures) of Hofstede de Groot's catalogue and explained:

"The most that can be attempted is to establish a simple canon of works whose authenticity is least open to doubt, and on the basis of which further attributions can safely be added."⁸

His book includes photographic reproductions of 155 works, of which he thought 114 were by Aelbert Cuyp, 5 were school pieces, 15 were from the Cuyp studio, 8 were by followers, 7

⁶ibid. (1908), p. v.

⁷S. Reiss: op. cit. He regards his list as a "starting point" rather than a catalogue raisonné [personal communication].

⁸S. Reiss: ibid., p. 12.

were attributions, 2 were joint works with Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp and 4 were by Jacob Gerritszoon; he identified 24 works unknown to Hofstede de Groot. He described the oeuvre in a broadly chronological order and entitled his eight groups: 1639 (7), influence of Jan van Goyen (27), contre-jour and early Italianate (12), influence of Jacob Gerritsz Cuyp (24), cattle pieces (22), river and ice pieces (20) equestrian portraits (12) and other landscapes (16). A fourth catalogue raisonné is in preparation, by the American art historian Alan Chong.⁹ His preliminary notes¹⁰ propose a total of 112 accepted works; he has agreed with Reiss on 78 works by Aelbert Cuyp and has accepted a further 8 from Reiss's other categories, together with 26 from Hofstede de Groot's catalogue that Reiss omits.

4.2 CUYP'S PICTURES OF CATTLE

On the basis of Reiss's 114 works by Aelbert Cuyp, 61 (53%) contain cattle, of which about half could be described as treating them as the principal subject-matter. In approximate figures this comprises about 30 landscapes with cattle and another 30 that could be specifically called veestukken, although the term is not very precisely defined:

"In the absence of a conclusive

⁹A. Chong: Social meanings in the paintings of Aelbert Cuyp (diss., New York University, in preparation). One further catalogue, of Cuyp's drawings, is also in preparation. Work commenced by the late J. G. van Gelder and I. Jost is being completed by Professor E. Haverkamp Begemann at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York. See p. 244 below on the provenance of the drawings.

¹⁰Personal communication (1988).

contemporary description we may regard the cattle piece as a composition in which four-footed farm animals (notably cows and bulls, but also sheep, goats and pigs) feature prominently. In most works cattle are depicted in a landscape, but shed interiors and cattle markets may also qualify as cattle pieces. In isolated cases where cattle form the principal motif of a work, a history piece or genre scene may be classified as a cattle piece..."¹¹

Taken all together, Cuyp's depictions of cattle clearly display evidence of stylistic change, but because plotting a detailed chronological sequence for the oeuvre relies so heavily on guesswork, the only distinction that can be made with some confidence is that between 'early' and 'late' pieces. Reiss called 1639-48 the "early period" and 1649-62 the "late period"¹² while Chong starts the "mature" period after 1652.¹³ A related issue, which none of the catalogues satisfactorily addresses, is the conventional, but questionable, assumption that Cuyp was only active up to the 1660s, that is, for no more than about 25 years, until his early forties. The claim that he stopped painting so early in his career is challenged below.¹⁴ He would have started painting in the late 1630s, and in considering his 'early'

¹¹S. van Heugten: op. cit., pp. 11-12 (English trans. p. 267). See Chapter 2, note 2 on the origins of the term veestuk.

¹²S. Reiss: op. cit., pp. 8-9.

¹³Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (op. cit.), p. 304.

¹⁴See pp. 218-21 below.

style it seems reasonable to regard Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp and Jan van Goyen as the prime influences. The pictures of rather flat, plain landscapes with somewhat ungainly cattle and sheep and a few people obviously borrow compositional and tonal ideas from these sources. Large overcast skies, the dominance of earth colours and the relatively small-scale, distant animals and human figures, create a subdued mood, as in Farm scene (England private collection; R 7) and River landscape (Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum; R 13).¹⁵

Stechow, van Gelder and Jost, Reiss and Chong have connected the family's links with Utrecht to the emergence of Cuyp's Italianising manner.¹⁶ Cuyp never went to Italy, as far as is known, but he must have been able to see works by those who had and, possibly in the 1640s, he began to adapt their characteristic treatment of light and pastoral subject-matter to his own efforts. The influence of Jan Both is clearly evident, and there are similarities with works by Karel Dujardin, Jan Asselijn and Nicolaes Berchem. These artists often gave cattle considerable prominence, so that a distinction between a landscape with cattle and a veestuk becomes increasingly tenuous. But whereas their cattle, sheep, goats and mules with herders and other human figures

¹⁵See S. Reiss: op. cit., plates I and II.

¹⁶W. Stechow: op. cit., p. 63. J. G. van Gelder and I. Jost: 'Vroeg contact van Aelbert Cuyp met Utrecht', Miscellanea I. G. van Regteren Altena (Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 100-103. S. Reiss: op. cit., p. 8. Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (op. cit.), p. 290.

are set in Campagna-like surroundings and look decidedly 'southern', Cuyp's 'early' Italianate style is expressed through somewhat more 'Dutch' motifs, as shown in Mountainous landscape with herdsmen and cattle (London, Dulwich College Picture Gallery; R 44) or Two horsemen in a hilly landscape (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; R 37). Though the quality of the sunlight, the mountainous terrain and the colours of the skies and earth clearly seem 'imported', his human figures and cattle definitely retain a more 'Dutch' character; he never abandoned this to the extent of Both or the others who favoured frankly arcadian subjects.¹⁷ In this respect his works have stronger affinities with the cattle pictures of Paulus Potter.

Stechow commented on the 'later' paintings:

"Cuyp's amazing ability to represent the moist atmosphere of the river, particularly at eventide when it is drenched in gold, is the decisive quality at least in some of his paintings. It is their greatest artistic asset, compared with which the wonderful rendering of the animals counts much less"¹⁸

while Rosenberg and Slive observed:

"... golden sunlight becomes the all-pervading element in Cuyp's paintings. It spreads warmth and beauty over the Dutch countryside, where sturdy animals - most often cows - take the place of human heroes."¹⁹

¹⁷See pp. 82-3 above on the Dutch Italianate painters.

¹⁸W. Stechow: op. cit., p. 61.

¹⁹J. Rosenberg, S. Slive and E. H. ter Kuile: op. cit., p. 276.

The renowned golden glow is indeed the most immediately recognisable trait of Cuyp's 'later' works and seems to have become progressively more refined. It is not restricted to the cattle pictures or the country landscapes: the View of Dordrecht (London, Kenwood House; R 97), for example, is a marine townscape that epitomises it. The golden light is cast by diagonal (therefore morning or evening) sunshine that suffuses the predominantly clear skies with brightness and bathes everything in a warm atmosphere. The effect, judging from the opinions quoted above, is to lend a profound quality to the humblest of scenes, endowing them with the power to encourage contemplation of 'universal' notions, as in the traditions of golden age and pastoral poetry. Cuyp's attention to the fall of light and shade is precisely judged, whether in relation to large forms or minute details, as seen in the effects of bright sky combined with shady foreground of the Piping herdsman (Paris, Louvre; R 84). Here the dark vegetation at the front is carefully differentiated through the use of highlights; a diagonal shaft of sunlight falls on a single cow, picking it out from the central group. On the hillside in the middle plane the sheep too are modelled and illuminated by light from one side and thereby offset from their dark surroundings. Beyond them, as a contrast, the diminutive figures of the herders are silhouetted against a luminous sky.

Another feature of Cuyp's 'mature' style is his finer

control over the handling of paint. His brushwork has become smooth and effortless compared with the graphic assertion of the 'earlier' works. Colours are predominantly warm, with subtle gradations of hue and tone in the skies - where yellows, greys, whites and blues are used - and in the browns and greens of the countryside. This is seen particularly well in View on the Rhine (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen; R 108).²⁰ The characteristic mood of calm that emanates from the compositions is achieved in part through the calculated disposition of static masses in spacious surroundings. Nothing moves at any speed (if it moves at all), and this unhurried, timeless impression is reinforced by the typically open, uncrowded breadth of the settings. An expansive result is conveyed, whether or not the actual format of the pictures is large: the View on the Rhine, for example, is only 40.5 x 55 cm. Cuyp's preferred sizes of panel and canvases are difficult to assess. The large-scale private commissions were probably 'made-to-measure', but whether he used 'standard' sizes for works destined for the general market is not clear. The two commonest sizes among his 114 works are panels 43-49 cm high and 70-76 cm wide (21) and canvases 100-117 cm high and 162-167 cm wide (13).²¹ In all, 73 (64%) are on panel while 39

²⁰See Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (exh. cat. by J. M. de Groot, J. G. van Gelder and W. Veerman, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1977-8), nr 32, p. 93.

²¹On the issue of standard sizes see J. Bruyn: 'Een onderzoek naar 17de-eeuwse schilderij formaten voornamelijk in Noordnederland', Oud-Holland, xciii (1979), pp. 99-115. E. van de Wetering: 'Painting materials and working methods', A corpus of Rembrandt paintings, J. Bruyn et al.,

(34%) are on canvas and the proportion on panel seems to have been higher in the earlier years,²² in keeping with the example of van Goyen.

Cuyp used several methods to transform the outwardly mundane subjects of the veestukken into a loftier vision. As previous chapters indicated, manipulation of the colours and condition of the cattle, and re-presentations of human types and landscapes or interiors, have the potential to turn the most modest images into carriers of sophisticated cultural imperatives. Analysis of recurring patterns and features in the 'later' veestukken reveals some of Cuyp's stylistic means for bringing this about. The cattle are usually presented in small groups,²³ within which some stand still and others lie down.²⁴ The individual animals are placed very near to one another and are viewed quite close up from every aspect: front, side and rear, illuminated by diagonal light, often in the centre or just off centre of the picture space. This brings out their massive, three-dimensional bulk, which then offers a substantial 'foundation' for the

i (Dordrecht, 1986), p. 17.

²²Using Reiss's dating, between 1639 and c. 1645, 39 are on panel and 5 on canvas. From the mid-1640s to c. 1650, 17 are on panel and 11 on canvas. From the 1650s onwards, 17 are on panel and 23 on canvas. S. Reiss: op. cit., p. 170.

²³23% of the 61 pictures with cattle show pairs of cattle, 20% show groups of four, 31% have groups of five and 11% have groups of six.

²⁴In 69% of the pictures with cattle there is a mixture, in 26% they stand only and in 5% they are all lying down.

pictorial metaphors. They are usually solid, well-built, healthy animals, unblemished and spotlessly clean (R 79, 88); this deliberate 'improvement' over actuality lends the cattle a mythic grandeur and perfection in keeping with the poetic resonances that link directly back to the 'golden age'. So too do their colours: the suggestion of an ancient ancestry could have been intended by the classic simplicity in the pictorial metaphor of the pure, unbroken reds and browns, as well as blacks, greys, whites or yellows of the coats. On the other hand, the blaarkop pattern²⁵ (R 82, 137) could have been Cuyp's way of introducing an identifiably 'national' feature of the stock. In the groups of cattle, occasionally one animal may be shown lowing (R 92), drinking (R 85-7) or pissing (R 84) but very rarely eating (R 7, 132) or doing anything other than motionlessly gazing steadily ahead. These are impressive, contemplative creatures, relieved of the burdens of everyday, worldly existence. They persuade the viewer to adopt a similar reflectiveness and to admire them as images not only of a distant 'golden past' but also^{as} metaphors of a balanced ecology of leisure and fruitfulness.

People are included in virtually all (92%) of these 'cattle pictures', the juxtaposition inviting consideration of respective symbolic functions. They too are given

²⁵Pure body colour with a mainly white face; see pp. 106-7 above on the possible origins of Dutch cattle's colours.

characteristically calm and static poses,²⁶ implying a mutually social as well as 'natural' equilibrium. Some of the pictures include an inward-facing equestrian figure in the foreground (R 44, 133), who bridges the gap between the 'outside world' and the picture's world by seeming to enable the observer to identify with his point of view. A figure pointing with an outstretched arm, such as a rider holding out a whip (R 121, 135, 136, 143) or a peasant indicating the way to a passing traveller (R 134, 138), seems to be a favourite device for establishing purposeful links between the individuals. The peasants are sometimes accompanied by a placid dog who sits still or lies flat (R 45, 84, 138, 139); these humble animals are impossible to confuse with the pure-bred sporting hounds of the well-to-do, which are shown being held on leashes by servants (R 121-4, 135) or chasing prey in hunting scenes (R 121, 123). The herders may hold long staffs or, conspicuously, shepherds' crooks (R 9, 38, 44, 60, 82, 92), which, though based on contemporary shepherds' equipment,²⁷ may have been given to the cattle herders to emphasise a generally pastoral theme. As with the crooks that are so frequently included in pastoral portraits, the resonance must inevitably have been of associations to the kinds of amorous and playful sentiments

²⁶Except in hunting scenes (R 121, 123, 136).

²⁷D. Grant and E. Hart: Shepherds' crooks and walking sticks (Lancaster, 1975). M. L. Ryder: Sheep and man (London, 1983), pp. 661-8.

expressed in pastoral literature.²⁸

Relative positions on the social scale are never in doubt: indeed, they are part of the ideological structuring. Cattle herders, milkmaids, shepherds and other peasants are always distinguishable from the better-dressed equestrian figures, though the peasants are not in rags: they are neatly attired, their clothes clean. Burgers wear broad-brimmed hats, white collars, flowing cloaks and well-tailored suits (R 91, 120), and patrician riders in rich finery have sleek horses in the peak of condition with shod feet, combed manes and tails, fine saddles and bridles sometimes decorated with insignia (R 121-4).²⁹ All these attributes of position and wealth might have been displayed as the 'natural order'.

In general, though there are variations, the landscape settings of Cuyp's cattle pictures include a large sky, mellow sunshine with light, high clouds suggesting a comfortably mild late afternoon, an impression of humidity and weight in the atmosphere and a broad expanse of calm water (often a wide river with some shipping). Although he

²⁸For example Gerard ter Borch's portrait of his sisters as shepherdesses (see Gerard ter Borch, exh. cat., The Hague, Mauritshuis; Münster, Landesmuseum, 1974, nr 22), Abraham Bloemaert: Pastoral scene (1627; Hanover, Neue Sächsisches Landesmuseum, Landesgalerie) and Gerrit van Honthorst (1590-1656): Pastoral scene (1632; Muiden, Muiderslot). See also A. Kettering: op. cit., figs 108, 128, pp. 81-2 above and J. Bruyn: op. cit. (1987), p. 86.

²⁹Study of these insignia has assisted in identifying the subjects of some of the equestrian portraits; S. Reiss: op. cit., p. 9.

did once or twice paint thunderstorms (with implicit religious overtones: R 27, 101), winter scenes (R 111, 112) and moonlit landscapes (R 75), Cuyp most often chose still air in northern summer, the mature trees in full leaf offset by detailed foreground vegetation. Several of the 'later' pictures show ruined or fortified buildings in the hazy middle distance against a backdrop of steep hills or mountains.³⁰ Some of them contain sufficient topographical features to suggest real locations (views of Dordrecht, Nijmegen, Rhenen, etc.),³¹ and all suggest the medieval roots of the asserted social ecology discussed above.

These observations are no more than signposts to some of Cuyp's recurring motifs, and may not apply to several of his pictures with cattle, including the stalinterieurs and some of the 'early' works. However, evidence that he repeatedly used certain favoured elements can also be detected in his equestrian portraits, marine subjects (R 99, 100, 102, 105, 106) and views of Dordrecht (R 93, 94, 97, 98, 101, 110), giving further indications of a distinctive, personal style. In the discussion of seven works by Cuyp that follows, representative 'later' pictures have been selected that

³⁰As well as the examples discussed below (R 139, 140), see particularly R 40, 121-3, 133-5, 137. See also p. 141 above on the selection of ruined buildings as motifs in the landscape.

³¹As well as those locations, others have been identified including Amersfoort (R 24), Elten (R 120), The Hague (R 71, 91), Utrecht (R 11), Vianen (R 26) and Wageningen (R 23, 25).

reveal the range of his pictorial and iconographic types of cattle, and which are relatively accessible for first-hand observation.³²

4.3 THE BUTE CUYP

The River landscape with horseman and peasants (London, National Gallery; HdG 433; R 140; see Fig. A), known as the Bute Cuyp, is a very large canvas (123 x 241 cm) that must have been a private commission.³³ It is typical of Cuyp's 'late' Italianate inventions³⁴ and contains many of the features described above. The central group of cows is illuminated by golden, diagonal sunlight and consists of five impressive animals all in top condition. They are large, pure coloured and an excellent advertisement for the high quality of their owner's property. They are definitely 'Dutch' stock, three pure red with blaarkop or other white face markings, one pure black and one creamy white standing in front view, so that one flank catches the full brilliance

³²Slide illustrations of each work accompany the text, identified as Figs A-G.

³³Its provenance was discussed on p. 11 above. See also Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (op. cit.), nr 25. According to the original dimensions, given on Elliott's engraving of 1764 (5 x 8 ft, i.e. 152.4 x 243.8 cm), 29 cm of the sky has been cut down.

³⁴Boydell read the painting thus: "This fine picture, which is entirely painted from nature, is inexpressably bright, clear and sunny; the choice of the scene is elegant and picturesque." J. Boydell: op. cit. (1769), p. 12. Chong called it: "Perhaps the grandest of Cuyp's landscapes, and certainly a pinnacle in the Dutch art of landscape..." Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (op. cit.), p. 302.

of the sun. The little bell on a chain around the black cow's neck could be conveying two ideas: on the one hand it makes the cow into an explicit item of owned property, and on the other it lends a mark of dignity, as if the cow wears a chain of office, implying too that even among cattle there are 'natural' leaders. Beside them on the road is a well-dressed rider in rear view on a white horse whose flank also catches the slanting sun. He has paused, with all the time in the world, and glances to the left, in the direction pointed out by a deferential peasant boy. The rider sees (and by representing him from the back the observer is encouraged to identify with this viewpoint) a wide stretch of water that curves away into the sunlight. On the bank in the middle distance is a town with several imposing buildings including a fortified tower and a church. Mountains rise up steeply in the golden haze beyond.

The countryside has been transformed into a haven of calm and stability, where the age-old mountains and lake, the mature trees and the ancient town combine to reinforce a message of 'natural' order and of continuity with a glorious, mythic past. The real world of Dutch 17th-century patrons was being altered, as has been shown earlier, by the effects of expanding urban population, industrial growth, schemes for land drainage and reclamation, canal digging, intensive stock rearing and arable farming. Day by day, man-made interventions were imposing physical changes on the look of the land that it would have been difficult to

ignore. The Bute Cuyp meanwhile has 'cleansed' the landscape of such references and offers instead a 'historical' idyll with classical overtones, albeit naturalistically depicted. As it is not a 'portrait' of the landscape, but a celebration of qualities of landscape, its artificiality, so different from the artificial landscape of Holland it eschews, was a virtue not a failing. The steep mountains, Mediterranean colours and uncrowded clusters of buildings, which all speak of a classical culture and lifestyle, provided a welcome antidote, an opportunity to contemplate loftier notions and more comforting prospects. They therefore offered a 'replacement' landscape, within which 'Dutch' elements, notably the cattle, symbols of the nation and the land itself, could be lodged.

Further along the road, in the shade cast by eight tall trees, a peasant walks away, a long staff over his right shoulder, and is about to encounter a shepherdess and her flock in the bright sunlight ahead. These could be merely picturesque staffage, conventional details in compositions of this type. But at another level they recall pietistic notions: the man might be a distant reference to the pilgrim with his burden, travelling along a dark path through the world of sin in the direction of ultimate salvation and enlightenment,³⁸ and the shepherdess and her sheep in direct light might be a reference to the scriptural metaphor for

³⁸J. Bruyn: op. cit., pp. 88, 95.

the human flock;³⁶ trees are unhesitatingly employed in Dutch art as metaphors of the transience of earthly life.³⁷

The social relations represented in this work, though they now need to be defined and analysed in order for their significance to be retrieved, must have struck a chord immediately, as would the other pictorial expressions of cultural imperatives. The 'seigneurial' position given to the mounted figure is the key: he is clearly from the upper stratum of society; what would now be called his 'class' (and was then termed 'estate' or 'condition') is unequivocally superior to that of the other figures. This is evident from clothing and demeanour, as can be established by comparison with the precisely differentiated appearances of regents, burgers and peasants in illustrations around maps³⁸ and, for example, in the representations of social types by Willem Buytewech or Adriaen van de Venne (1589-1662).³⁹ The hereditary nobility,⁴⁰ who comprised the

³⁶This maagd (maid) may also be related to representations of the Maaqd van Dordrecht: see pp. 197-8 below.

³⁷J. Bruyn: op. cit., p. 90.

³⁸A. Goos: Belgium sive inferior Germania (1621) depicts three male and female types: 'Nobiles', 'Mercator' and 'Rusticus'. 'Rustica' shows a woman with a yoke carrying two milk pails, a figure that recurs on contemporary ceramic blue-and-white tiles (e.g. in Delft, Rijksmuseum Huis Lambert van Meerten). See also W. J. Blaeu: Holland (1608); reproduced in B. Haak: op. cit., fig. 329.

³⁹Buytewech drew several series of people of different social rank and occupations; see for example Willem Buytewech, 1591-1624 (exh. cat. by J. Giltay et al.; intro. E. Haverkamp-Begemann, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1974; Paris, Institut Néerlandais, 1974-5), nrs 72-82. Adriaen van de Venne's album of social types was made

wealthy landowning patrician regent class of the Netherlands, enjoyed privileges that were upheld and advanced in the 17th century.⁴¹ The burger class comprised people of means whose income was derived from trade, commerce, manufacturing, business and the professions. These were the urban employers, who owned their own enterprises and, with accumulated capital to invest, were important agents of Dutch economic growth. They were educated town dwellers, with traditions rooted in medieval urban Holland, citizens whose lifestyle has been shown as often combining material comfort with a puritanical cast of mind.⁴² The rest of Dutch society was the working class and peasantry - in the towns they were employed in manufacturing, shipping, construction and other businesses, and in the service sector. In the country they were labourers, tenant farmers or fishermen, financially less secure than their burgerlijk and patrician masters; they enjoyed fewer rights and had

in 1626 for royal patrons: M. Royalton-Kisch: op. cit.

⁴⁰B. Haak: The golden age: Dutch painters of the seventeenth century (London, 1984), pp. 32-3.

⁴¹This was so not only while members of the princely house of Orange Nassau held the office of stadhouder - Maurits (1567-1625; stadhouder 1585-1625), Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647; stadhouder 1625-47) and Willem II (1626-50; stadhouder 1647-50) - but also when Johan de Witt (1625-72) served as Raad-Pensionaris of Holland and de facto head of state, from 1653 until his murder in 1672 (he was, like his father, Jacob, also prominent in the political life of Dordrecht and the United Provinces. See Appendix 6 and M. Balen: Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht (Dordrecht, 1677), p. 226.

⁴²J. Bruyn: op. cit., p. 101.

access to fewer opportunities.⁴³

This analysis of the Bute Cuyp identifies the spectator as holding a ruling urban, privileged, sensibility by suggesting the (false) belief that the peasants, stereotypes vaguely resembling the locals, could pass the time in contented peace, without struggle or discontent and, above all, could remain occupied without labouring. An unquestioning deference to those of higher social rank was reiterated to put the patricians at ease concerning their own fanciful ideas of how the countryside might appropriately be represented. The picture gave a seal of approval to their presumptions of social superiority, of the 'right' to enjoy property, indulge in leisure and benefit from nature's bounty,⁴⁴ and to the sentimental attachment to 'golden age' myths.⁴⁵ It gave burgerlijk viewers vicarious

⁴³J. G. van Dillen: Van rijkdom en regenten: handboek tot de economische en sociale geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Republiek (The Hague, 1970), pp. 248-309. J. de Vries: op. cit. (1974), pp. 61-7. T. Deursen: Het kopergeld van de gouden eeuw, i, Het dagelijks brood (Assen, 1978).

⁴⁴Duck shooting, depicted in the left foreground of the Bute Cuyp, could have symbolic meanings. It also appears in Rubens's Landscape with Het Steen at Elewijt (1635; London, National Gallery. See W. Adler: op. cit., nr 53), where it has been interpreted as a statement of morning. ibid., pp. 161-2. In still-life pictures the depiction of dead birds celebrated the huntsman's success, though tinged with the subdued mood of memento mori. See for example works by Willem van Aelst (1627-c. 1683) and Jan Baptist Weenix (1621-60). However in some genre pictures birds, and particularly ducks, may have served as metaphors for sexual desire, the dead birds indicating its cessation with old age. M. Royaltan-Kisch: op. cit., p. 107.

⁴⁵See for example pp. 64, 145 and 155 above.

access, by association, to these patrician values and pleasures, thereby allowing them to imagine they had indeed attained the status they aspired to; but it may also be indicative of a profound insecurity.

This conclusion is not quite the same as Barrell's in relation to conditions in the English countryside.⁴⁶ Whereas he suggested that the 'truth' about rural conflict and peasant discontent was being deliberately masked in the landscape pictures,⁴⁷ the standard of living of Dutch 17th-century peasants was relatively better compared to the English, and friction between the 'classes' did not take on a similar intensity. So works such as the Bute Cuyp were probably not concealing social distress in the way that Barrell describes for the English scene (although when Cuyp's works were in favour with English 18th-century landowners, they did, presumably, serve this function). The earlier discussion has proposed that the transmission and modification of cultural imperatives associated with the ruling elite was one of the functions of landscape oil paintings. In that respect the Bute Cuyp could be seen as an outstanding example of the application of artistic skill and technique to seemingly, 'realistic' subject-matter in order to perform that function within currently and appropriately fashionable aesthetic conventions.

⁴⁶See pp. 36-7 above.

⁴⁷J. Barrell: op. cit. (1983), pp. 16, 82.

4.4 RHINELAND LANDSCAPE

Another large canvas, River landscape with horsemen (129 x 227 cm; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; HdG 458; R 139; see Fig. B),⁴⁸ is typical of several of Cuyp's 'late' pictures with cattle where the landscape is derived from Rhineland locations he observed for himself, as surviving topographical drawings confirm.⁴⁹ In this case, the place has been identified as Wylen, near Kleve in Germany.⁵⁰ Cuyp has added the cattle, and other 'Dutch' motifs, to the 'foreign' topography, creating a contrived but naturalistic result. This illustrates what Samuel van Hoogstraten meant by keurlijke natuerlijkheydt. He wrote:

"...Want een volmaekte Schildery is als een spiegel van de Natuer, die de dingen, die niet en zijn, doet schijnen te zijn, en op een geoorlofde vermakelijke en prijselijke wijze bedriegt."⁵¹

Even though Cuyp here chose to follow the actual topography quite closely, showing the old lakeside town in its hilly landscape, it would be a mistake to think that the purpose

⁴⁸The provenance of this work and earlier critical opinions of it are discussed in C. J. de Bruyn Kops: op. cit., pp. 162-76.

⁴⁹Variations on this background were also used in R 122, 133, 134, 136-8 and 140.

⁵⁰H. Dattenberg: Die niederrheinansichten holländischer Künstler des 17. Jahrhunderts, Die Kunstdenkmäler des Rheinlands, ed. R. Wesenberg, x (Düsseldorf, 1967), p. 66.

⁵¹[... For a perfect painting is as a mirror of nature, so that the things that are not there appear to be there, and deceive permissably, entertainingly and commendably.] S. van Hoogstraten: op. cit., p. 25.

of the image was merely to provide a neutrally descriptive 'copy' of what he saw. The introduction of the cattle and their juxtaposition with the people in the landscape is deliberate and serves particular intentions, which may not now be immediately recognisable in the terms that they were to Cuyp's contemporaries. To regard the cattle as no more than picturesque staffage would be to underestimate their symbolic value.

There are four cows on the right in the foreground. Three lie in a row, looking to the right; two are golden brown, one with a blaarkop face, and the other is pure red. The fourth, black-and-white, stands behind them looking in the same direction. They have their backs to the other figures and gaze motionlessly beyond the picture's edge. Meanwhile, their herder, a man in a bright red jacket, leaning on his staff, a dog lying at his feet, cannot take his eyes off two elegant riders who have stopped by the water's edge to let their sleek horses drink. These two equestrian figures once again provide the reference point against which the relative social positions of the other people in the scene are to be understood. As well as the herder there is a man walking along the road with a staff on his right shoulder, much as there was in the Bute Cuyp, although in this case he is walking away from the town in the direction of the viewer.⁵² And, outside two steep-roofed, old but immaculate farm

⁵²See p. 174 above and J. Bruyn: op. cit., pp. 88-9.

buildings, a man and a woman stand by a horse harnessed to a covered cart. All these presumably virtuous peasants are shown getting on with their own unhurried activities, in harmony with the natural world, which is hospitable and bathed in a generous golden light. The peasants are rewarded for their endeavours by clement surroundings⁵³ and exist in harmony with nature and their masters.

The riders both have fashionable outfits and wear orange sashes that suggest a connection with the army. As confident representatives of the 'class' who own and defend Dutch property, their presence in the picture provides a focus for patriotic sentiments. The cattle echo this in both respects, as previous remarks on their iconography have indicated: they themselves symbolise property and they can stand for the Dutch nation.⁵⁴ The sleepy rural landscape of the Rhineland has more in common with the 'unspoilt' eastern provinces of the Netherlands, just over the border, than with Holland and its busy coastal zone where Dutch urbanisation, trade and commerce and intensive land use were concentrated. Away from that bustling, noisy, complicated place, this picture offers a simple, restful ambience, where 'eternal' values can be contemplated in comfort. The distant church spire provides a spiritual motif against which to consider the travellers on the road of life, while the old

⁵³On the contrast with the consequences of idleness see J. Bruyn: ibid., pp. 80 and 95.

⁵⁴See pp. 83-5 above.

town suggests a reliable continuity of worldly strength and security. The cattle, in excellent condition, look towards an optimistic past, present and future with their customary placidity.

4.5 TOWN AND COUNTRY

In the Avenue at Meerdervoort (72 x 100 cm; London, Wallace Collection; HdG 168; R 119; see Fig. C), because recognisable topography specific to Dordrecht plays such a strong part in the composition (see Fig. H), it might be tempting to accept the illusion of straightforward description at face value. But the individual elements are presented in a naturalistic way, conveying the image's underlying meanings with considerable subtlety. The canvas is a good example of Cuyp's ability to offset town and country in line with the sensibilities associated above with the elite members of Dordrecht society.

On the left in the background is the Château de Meerdervoort, seat of a prominent patrician Dordrecht family - called Pompe van Meerdervoort.⁵⁵ On the right in the background is a sunny view of Dordrecht from the north-west across the River Maas. These two self-contained images are emphatically separated: firstly by the avenue: a tree-lined country road on which a number of people and animals are arranged; secondly by the wide River Maas and thirdly by a

⁵⁵See Cuyp's equestrian portrait of Michiel and Cornelis Pompe van Meerdervoort (R 121).

canal that runs parallel to the river, between it and the avenue. The peaceful, spacious landed property of the Pompe van Meerdervoort family is contrasted with the town of Dordrecht – privilege, serenity and privacy rather than the tension and overcrowded conditions of urban life. Dordrecht, with its buildings pressing up against the town walls, its skyline dominated by the huge late Gothic Grote Kerk,⁸⁶ is a focus of 'public' political and church power while the aristocratic château derives its authority from past generations of landed dominance. The motif of an avenue in the countryside, which was also used for example by Meindert Hobbema in the Avenue at Middelharnis (1689; London, National Gallery),⁸⁷ carries the implication of order in nature – the rural world under the control of its rightful, patrician, inhabitants. And Cuyp's three-times divided landscape recalls the tradition, named paysage moralisé by Panofsky, through which metaphorical, moralising polarities such as good and evil or life and death could be symbolised.⁸⁸

⁸⁶There had been a church on the site since at least 1120 but the main construction was carried out from 1284 to c. 1450. Built of stone in the Brabant style, it was seriously damaged by fire in 1457 and restored by 1471. The tower was never topped with a spire and its appearance was unchanged after 1624. De Grote Kerk (exh. leaflet, Dordrecht, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1987). It recurs in numerous views of Dordrecht by Cuyp and others.

⁸⁷See Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (op. cit.), nr 47.

⁸⁸"... the device, common in late-medieval and Renaissance painting, of dividing the landscape background into two halves of symbolically contrasting character." E. Panofsky: op. cit., p. 64.

Another tradition, the literary genre of hofdichten, country house poems, is also relevant. These were a very popular form among the landowning elite, providing in verse praise of the beauty of the house and its grounds and congratulations for the owner's good fortune and good taste. They could also invoke a nostalgic mood, reflecting on a past 'golden age' when the rustic life of ideal simplicity and well-being mythically prevailed.⁵⁹ The 'portrait' of the Château de Meerdersvoort, probably commissioned by a member of the family,⁶⁰ was also a kind of pictorial hofdicht.

In the picture there are two large cows: one, pure brown, lies on the left edge of the road in full light, facing into the centre; the other, pure dark brown/red, moves away to the left in shade. Their particular position in the composition becomes clearer when considered in the context of the other figures on the avenue. Next to the recumbent cow in the centre, a very short man in a bright red cloak with gold edges stands holding the reins of two expensively saddled but riderless horses. Unlike Cuyp's series of equestrian portraits,⁶¹ where the sitters are the main subject, here, while the two riders are temporarily out of

⁵⁹See P. A. F. van Veen: De soeticheydt des buyten-levens, vergheselschapt met boucken: het hofdicht als tak van een georgische literatuur (Utrecht, 1985). See also pp. 188-9 and 231-2 below.

⁶⁰See p. 229 below.

⁶¹Such as R 122 of Willem, Jan and Cornelis van Beveren and R 123 and 124.

view, the horses command the centre of the avenue, together with the liveried servant, a tiny pet dog at his feet. The bridles, decorated with blue ribbons on the larger, dark horse and pink/orange ones on the smaller, brown horse, underscore this display of the attributes of wealth and privilege.

Further back on the road an elegant rider approaches, past a woman who watches with two children. She stands deferentially on the town side, taking a 'safe' interest in the well-to-do.⁶² Also on the town side, two peasants sit chatting while they fish in the canal. They exemplify country people at leisure; and the canal, full of fish, shows a man-made intervention in the natural environment, assimilated and made bountiful.⁶³ This picture is much smaller than the first two, and yet achieves its comparably 'grand' purposes with the help of Cuyp's decisive use of the cattle. By placing them so close to the centre of the image (the large brown cow seems to gaze directly at the servant) and allocating them to the château side (as the dark cow moving to the left emphasises), their 'rightful' place as the property of (and within the property of) the Pompe van Meerdervoorts is declared.

⁶²J. Barrell: op. cit. (1980), pp. 114-16.

⁶³And could have referred to the fishing rights of the Pompe family. In genre subjects fishing can suggest metaphors for religious or amorous meanings. See Tot lering en vermaak (op. cit.), p. 187 and note 70 below.

4.6 RUINED BUILDINGS

A small panel that demonstrates more directly the use of cattle images to evoke patriotic nostalgia for the past, and which exemplifies the significance in Cuyp's works of ruined buildings, is Ubbergen Castle (31.2 x 54.4 cm; London, National Gallery; HdG 176; R 132; see Fig. D). Unlike the previous examples, the cattle here are small background features, though carefully defined. The three animals face to the right; one lying down is a red blaarkop, one standing with lowered head is pure red and the second standing looks grey. Once again they are on a road by a large expanse of water, in a sunlit hilly landscape with an element of identifiable topography. Ubbergen Castle, the property of the Vijgh family, set near Nijmegen in Gelderland, was partly ruined by fire in 1580; some quarters were restored and it remained the family's home until 1712. It was then sold and the new owner demolished the whole castle and built a new structure on the site.⁴⁴ When Cuyp knew it, the castle would have been partly repaired and regularly inhabited. Yet the painting presents it as a 'picturesquely' ruined empty shell, apparently surrounded by water. It is a square, thick-walled medieval pile, one of its corner towers still capped with a spire; a tree, bushes and moss hug the walls, mellowing the surface in the golden glow of the sunlight.

⁴⁴A. Bienfait and M. Kossmann: op. cit., i, p. 250-1; ii, pls 323-4. A. J. van der Aa: Aardrijkskundig woordenboek der Nederlanden, xi (1848), p. 350. For a contemporary description see J. van Someren's 'Wandelingh van Nymegen op Ubbergen', (Nijmegen, 1660); his writings and connections with Cuyp are discussed on pp. 190-91 below.

Cuyp was not alone in adapting actual buildings to serve pictorial purposes: ruined castles occur as objects for contemplation in landscape drawings and etchings by other artists;⁴⁵ in Jacob van Ruisdael's painting of Bentheim Castle⁴⁶ the castle's position has been raised up to 'improve' the dramatic possibilities of the view. In the foreground of Ubbergen Castle a well-dressed rider, once more in rear view, talks to a peasant, this time a man in a red jacket leaning on a staff or crook, beside five sheep. As before, the depiction of the socially superior equestrian figure in the foreground from behind invites the viewer to identify with his point of view (and presumably his attitudes). He sees the still water, calm atmosphere and sky suggesting late afternoon all enhancing the castle's venerable antiquity. Because it is depicted as ruined and uninhabited, he is encouraged to contemplate it as a vanitas device;⁴⁷ and it also conveys overtones of a chivalric feudal past. In the background a man and woman stroll past the cows on the road and although they are too distant to be identifiable, their erect stance and sober, elegant clothes suggest a well-to-do couple taking a recreational walk in the vicinity of this prominent local landmark. By including

⁴⁵See p. 141 above.

⁴⁶1651; England private collection. See Dutch landscape: the early years (op. cit.), nr 106.

⁴⁷Jan Luyken's etching 'Het oud gebouw' in his De bykorf des gemoeds (Amsterdam, 1711) is accompanied by biblical references on the frailness of human achievements; see J. Bruyn: op. cit., p. 89.

cattle in a composition that would have 'worked' without any, Cuyp may well have been linking them to the vanitas theme as well as invoking associations to them as an age-old token of property and as a symbol of the Dutch nation.⁶⁸

4.7 PATRIOTIC VIEWS

Similarly the View of Nijmegen (106 x 165 cm; Woburn Abbey, Beds; HdG 175/175b; R 127; see Fig. E) offsets cattle against subject-matter that might well have stood complete on its own. In each case it becomes evident that the cattle images were used because they could add specific, recognised, metaphorical meanings as well as contributing to the immediate aesthetic effects of the pictorial illusion. In this example, the statement of patriotic, historical sentiments is particularly clear.⁶⁹ Familiar motifs recur: a large calm sunny late afternoon sky, a wide expanse of still water (the River Waal), two elegantly dressed riders travelling on the riverside road, peasants with cattle and men fishing.⁷⁰ The skyline of the town of Nijmegen is dominated by the fortified Valkhof, a partly ruined medieval fortress.

⁶⁸See pp. 83-5 above.

⁶⁹And can be related to his treatment of similar themes in marine views, such as R 99, 104 and 106.

⁷⁰The fishing boat in the shadows on the left contains three men; a single large square net, suspended on four curved arms from a T-bar is fixed to their boat. This net design was used by Adriaen van de Venne in his allegorical Fishing for souls (1614; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) and in his album of 1626; both illustrated in M. Royallton-Kisch: op. cit., fig. 7 and folio 87.

In the right foreground four cattle stand in shallow water, two bending their heads to drink; all four are well-built, one pure black, two pure red and the nearest golden brown with a white blaarkop face. A remarkable point about the way Cuyp has painted them is their scale in relation to the herders who stand forward of them on the nearby bank: the cattle are huge, solid masses, dwarfing the human figures. This modification of proportion and perspective, which must be assumed to be deliberate, though it does not upset the 'naturalism' of the work as a whole, exaggerates the presence and substance of the cattle. The herders (dressed like the shepherdess and boy in the Bute landscape, the woman holding a long crook and pointing with outstretched arm) glancing up at the riders are diminutive stereotypes.⁷¹

The Valkhof was of great historical significance to the Dutch: according to Tacitus it was the site of the Batavian revolt against the Romans.⁷² Cuyp depicted it in a number of other versions and it features in topographical landscapes

⁷¹G. Jansen [personal communication] regards "dwarf" figures as typical of Cuyp. It is almost as if the cattle have become guardians of the people rather than the other way round.

⁷²For further discussion of this legend see I. Schöffer: op. cit.) and S. Schama: 'Dutch landscapes: culture as foreground', (op. cit.), pp. 76-9.

by other painters.⁷³ In the hazy distance, past the Valkhof and buildings of Nijmegen, Cuyp included a prominent windmill outlined against the sky. Walford saw similarities between this work and Jacob van Ruisdael's Mill at Wijk bij Duurstede (after 1670; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) on account of both sites' historical associations; he connected the mill itself to emblems in which a man without the spirit of God is compared to a mill without wind.⁷⁴

Another reason why Cuyp may have picked this subject is the existence of a link between Dordrecht and Nijmegen through the van Someren family. They were Dordrecht regents⁷⁵ who may have commissioned paintings from Cuyp. Johan van Someren (1622-76), born and brought up in the family's country house, called Groepesteyn, outside Dordrecht, became Raad-Pensionaris of Nijmegen in 1655. He was an accomplished poet and one of his poems, a hofdicht,⁷⁶ reminisced about his childhood home, with its gardens and serene atmosphere. It opens:

"Groepesteyn, myn lust myn leven,
Waerom moet ick u begeven,

⁷³Cuyp's other versions are: R 103, 109, 128, 129, 130. Other artists include Lambert Doomer (1624-1700), Jan van Goyen, Jan van der Heyden, Abraham Rademaker (1675-1735) Rembrandt (1606-69), Roelant Roghman (1627-92), Salomon van Ruysdael, Willem Schellinks (1627-78) and Anthonie Waterloo (c. 1610-90).

⁷⁴E. J. Walford: op. cit., p. 20. See also Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (op. cit.), nr 88.

⁷⁵M. Balen: Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht (Dordrecht, 1677, R 1966), pp. 226-7, 1231-42.

⁷⁶See pp. 184-5 above.

Waerom blijft ghy niet by mijn,
Kom ick u vermaeck te missen,
Seght: waer sal ick vreuchde vissen?
Mach ick niet staegh by u zijn. [...]"⁷⁷

Van Someren's poem: Wandelingh van Nymegen op Ubbergen, which describes a walk to Ubbergen, was dedicated to Nicolaes Vijgh, lord of Ubbergen and burgemeester of Nijmegen.⁷⁸

4.8 VEESTUK

A painting in which Cuyp made the cattle the undisputed central subject is Peasants with cattle by the River Merwede (38 x 50 cm; London, National Gallery; HdG 429/446; R 90; see Fig. F). The relatively small size of the panel suggests it was intended for the general market and it is typical of the paintings where great attention is paid to the imposing presence of a central group of large cattle in close up. There are four very sturdy, sunlit animals, one standing, facing the viewer, pure brown; the others lying down close together, one creamy-white, seen from the rear, one facing left, pure brown, and one facing right, pure red with white face markings. The cattle are quite still, and the fall of light is used to model their considerable bulk. They are

⁷⁷[Groepestyn, my passion, my life,/Why must I foresake you/Why do you not stay with me/I come to miss your delight/Say: where shall I find joy?/May I not be constantly with you] J. van Someren: 'Op Groepesteyn', Uyt-spanning der vernuften [Relaxation of the ingenious] (Nijmegen, 1660). One of the poem's dedicatees is Constantijn Huygens (see Chapter 1, note 38).

⁷⁸J. van Someren: op. cit. See also note 64 above.

spotlessly clean, their coats soft and warm-looking. The location is one bank of the wide River Merwede, the north-east aspect of Dordrecht just out of sight. Several sailing boats drift in the calm. Against the skyline in the light of the afternoon sun stands the ruin of the Huis te Merwede, a well-known local medieval landmark.⁷⁹ Behind the cows on the bank are three peasants - a man in a cap and jerkin on a black horse, in three-quarter rear view just beyond a man and woman who stand talking. He leans on a long shepherd's crook staring out at the river, wearing the same sort of dark clothes and loose hat as the boys in the Bute Cuyp; she wears a pale broad hat like the Bute shepherdess's and gazes ahead.⁸⁰ Familiar appearances once again, except this picture contains no patricians or burgers (though the rider could be a servant exercising his master's sleek mount). The juxtaposition of the obviously well fed cattle with the ruin of the Huis te Merwede evokes meanings already

⁷⁹Cuyp included the Huis te Merwede in other paintings, for example R 5, 40 and 111, as did Jan van Goyen and others. The Huis itself was built by the heren of Merwede, along the river east of Dordrecht, by 1305 and by 1355 it had been fortified. It was destroyed in 1418 after the siege of Dordrecht during the Kabeluwe-Hoekse dispute. (See H. M. Broeken: Het ontstaan van de Hoekse en Kabeljauwse twisten (Zutphen, 1982), pp. 263-9.) It was flooded in 1421 (see see pp. 225-6 below) and drifting ice pushed over some remaining inner walls. The ruin was bought by the city of Dordrecht in 1604 together with the manor lands. C. J. P. Lips: 'Het huis te Merwede', Dordrecht, stad in de ruimte (op. cit.), pp. 53-5. The ruin was depicted again, for example by Aert Schouman (see p. 254 below) and with cattle in the foreground (The Hague, DRVK, nr NK 2055) by the Dordrecht marine painter Johan Hendrik Boshamer (1775-after 1848; see Appendix 7, p. 296).

⁸⁰See pp. 197-8 below on the maagd figure.

encountered in earlier examples: references to property and prosperity, hints of a glorious past tinged with nostalgia, all linked to a vanitas reminder.⁹¹ The herders are almost dwarfed by the cattle, as they were in the View of Nijmegen. Everything is motionless and in equilibrium (even the rider seems not to progress). The herders' relaxed, expressionless dispositions and the calm landscape around them banish any sense of change or toil - once more faithful to the golden age myths. The town of Dordrecht itself, with its crowded streets, bustle, noise and smells, is implied and adds meaning by its hidden proximity, yet it is deliberately out of sight, not allowed to interrupt this 'rustic' moment.

4.9 STALINTERIEUR

The stalinterieur type of cattle picture, by dispensing with landscape, focuses on the animals close up, in confined, man-made surroundings and directs attention to the supporting details of other animals, human figures and miscellaneous objects. In the previous century, Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Bueckelaer (1530-73) had initiated the kind of subject-matter known as 'kitchen still-lives' in which extravagant displays of food are set before tiny background scenes with biblical content. On one level the secular context is made to admit a spiritual message, while at another the erotic undertones in the worldly pleasures

⁹¹The cattle could be said to hold the vanitas theme just as views of herders in the Foro Romano did for Berchem and the other Dutch Italianate painters.

associated with eating are identifiable.⁸² Dutch and Flemish 17th-century artists continued to use food and kitchen objects in still-life and genre pictures,⁸³ and found great scope to convey spiritual and moralising meanings.⁸⁴ These pictorial metaphors proved to be useful in stalinterieurs too.⁸⁵

Cuyp's Stalinterieur (65 x 92 cm; Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum; HdG 54; see Fig. 6)⁸⁶ shows the inside of a modest but sturdily built wooden barn divided into open stalls, with a clear space in front of the open door, through which strong sunlight enters from the fine day outside. At the back of the barn three cows in front view are loosely tethered by their horns to the uprights of their stalls. All

⁸²K. M. Craig: 'Pieter Aertsen and The meat stall', Oud-Holland, xcvi (1982), pp. 1-15.

⁸³See Still-life in the age of Rembrandt (op. cit.) and Masters of seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting (op. cit.).

⁸⁴A number of painters of still-lives with food and vegetables was active in Dordrecht, Middelburg and Rotterdam, mainly in the first half of the 17th century, including François Ryckhals (after 1600-1674), Cornelis and Herman Saftleven, Hendrik Martensz Sorgh (1610/11-70), Willem Kalf and Pieter de Bloot (1601-58). Others who sometimes painted these subjects included Harmen Steenwyck (1612-56), Floris van Schooten (fl c. 1610-55) and Hendrik Potuyl (fl c. 1639-49). Rubens set the subject of The Prodigal Son in a stalinterieur; see pp. 94-5 above.

⁸⁵See K. J. Müllenmeister: op. cit. (1985), pp. 46-50.

⁸⁶Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1800 (op. cit.), nr 23. Reiss omits this work but includes two others: R 65 and 66. He considers this work to be a school piece [personal communication].

three are very large, clean and pure brown, the left one with some white markings on the face and underside. A brown-and-white cat lies in front of the cattle, gazing at the viewer. In the middle plane of the picture, slightly to the right, a woman in side view pauses in polishing a copper pail with a handful of straw. She has turned her head to look directly at the viewer with a neutral expression. In the foreground on the immaculately clean floor is a display of empty and broken earthenware pots and mussel shells and, on a bench on the right, green and red cabbages, a basket of onions and two dead birds (possibly doves). Other objects hang on the walls and stand on the floor: wicker baskets, empty hay nets, a hat and a jacket, more copper and brass vessels.

Although the handling is naturalistic, the composition is obviously invented from naer het leven observations and contains several conventional symbols for erotic ideas and the loss of innocence, and ^{references} to the transience of life. As de Jongh has emphasised, the two principal and recurring themes of Dutch 17th-century art are love and death.⁶⁷ The broken and empty vessels and the dead birds are vanitas symbols, well known in still-life pictures.⁶⁸ It could be that the woman's polishing reminded the viewer of the need to care

⁶⁷E. de Jongh: 'Réalisme et réalisme apparent dans le peintre hollandais du 17e siècle', Rembrandt et son temps (exh. cat., Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1971), p. 167.

⁶⁸B. Haak: op. cit., pp. 125-33.

for possessions (industriousness contrasted with sloth) and that shine fades (vanitas).⁸⁹ The vegetables and birds could indicate self-yielding nature and the wholesome products of the countryside available for mankind to enjoy. But based on their meanings as revealed through study of still-life and genre pictures, dead birds could be an indication of ceased sexual desire;⁹⁰ and doves were particularly associated with amorous love.⁹¹ Onions, like mussels, were thought to be aphrodisiacs,⁹² the cat was a long-standing symbol of lust⁹³ and cabbages could have signified autumn.⁹⁴ Combining these elements together permits one reading that finds the sexual hopes and fears of a young woman (or of a male spectator in the autumn of his years) being metaphorically declared, in

⁸⁹The motif recurs in interior scenes, e.g. Cornelis Saftleven's Stalinterieur with maid (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). See W. Schulz: Cornelis Saftleven, 1607-1681. Leben und Werken mit einem kritische Katalog der Gemälde und Zeichnungen (Berlin, 1978), nr 659. Schama has drawn attention to the Dutch 'habit' of cleanliness in The embarrassment of riches (op. cit.), pp. 375-8. There are parallels too to the hair-combing and delousing scenes by, for example, Gerard ter Borch. See Gerard ter Borch (op. cit.), nrs 24, 28.

⁹⁰M. Royalton-Kisch: op. cit., p. 107 and folios 93-4. E. de Jongh: 'Erotica in vogelperspectief', Simiolus, iii (1968-9), pp. 22-74. See also note 44 above.

⁹¹J. Bruyn: op. cit., p. 85.

⁹²M. Royalton-Kisch: op. cit., folios 85-6 and pp. 138-9, note 259, 260. Masters of seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting (op. cit.), pp. 184-5.

⁹³M. Royalton-Kisch: op. cit., p. 105. E. de Jongh: op. cit. (1968/9), pp. 47-8.

⁹⁴Masters of seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting (op. cit.), pp. 272-3.

some ways similar to Roelandt Savery's Stalinterieur.⁷⁵ The maid in Cuyp's picture, who seems to accept a servant's duties passively, conscientiously caring for the possessions of her masters with a neutral expression, and her healthy complexion and clean clothes, were probably read as symbolic. They could be akin to what Barrell interpreted as contrived 'evidence' of the standard of living and contented demeanour burgers found it desirable to believe the peasantry enjoyed. The extraordinarily tidy, well-organised scene undoubtedly idealises actual barn interiors and conforms to the conventionally artificial way objects are displayed in still-lives.

Further indications of cultural imperatives, with an interesting local significance, can be seen in the maid's red bodice and white blouse. They match Dordrecht's coat of arms, and the colours had in the past been the required 'uniform' for local citizens.⁷⁶ And the maid herself could have brought forth associations to the Maagd van Holland, a symbol that recurs in prints, medals and coins of the

⁷⁵See pp. 54-5 above.

⁷⁶Dordrecht's arms are a shield divided into three equal vertical areas, the outer ones red, the inner one white, derived from the arms of the heren of Merwede (see note 79 above). See M. Balen: op. cit., p. 82. An order of 16 March 1482 required all poorters (citizens) of the town aged over 20 and under 60 to wear split colours, half red, half white. ibid., p. 799. Also, Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp's Fish market (1627; Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum. See Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie, op. cit., nr 3) shows the red-and-white colour scheme in the clothes of a servant woman who shops with her patrician mistress.

period.⁹⁷ The Dordrecht version of this female figure, the Maagd van Dordrecht, not only appears on some town maps⁹⁸ but is the subject of a work by Cuyp's grandfather, a monumental stained-glass window in the Sint Janskerk, Gouda.⁹⁹ Together with the fine, healthy cattle, familiar emblems for property and patriotic pride, this Stalinterieur provides several layers of meaning to contemplate. The moralising sentiments evoked by the vanitas elements, or entertaining, amorous messages about the maagd, as well as reassurance that man's occupation of the countryside had not upset the harmony of nature, since food, shelter (the stalled cattle) and prosperity (the cattle and the valuable vessels) continue in abundance. To Dordtenaars it speaks, through the red-and-white clothes, of their town's seniority and prominent role in the emergence of the independent Netherlands. Different as it is from the other cattle pictures, the stalinterieur evidences similar features of the Dutch 17th-century mindset as handled in the vocabulary of Cuyp's idealising art.

Modern viewers can, through this kind of conscious attempt

⁹⁷See P. J. Winter: 'De hollandse tuin', Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, lxviii (1957), pp. 29-122, and, for example, a political print by Willem Buytewech (1615; Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk). See Willem Buytewech, 1591-1624 (op. cit.), nr 119.

⁹⁸See for example those on Fig. H (from M. Balen: op. cit., facing p. 57) and on the title page of Balen's work, depicting the Maagd against a profile of the town, with the inscription 'VIRGO DORDRACENA'.

⁹⁹See pp. 211-12 and 213 below.

to analyse the iconography, identify ways in which Cuyp's 17th-century patrons may, albeit much more spontaneously, have regarded his paintings of cattle. As a group, these seven 'late' pictures reveal several significant elements in Cuyp's stylistic language; they demonstrate moreover that the cattle have the potential to carry meanings and prompt associations however large or small an element of the composition they are.

Cuyp's original 17th-century reception differs from his later celebrity in at least two important respects: in his day he must have been regarded as just one among many excellent local masters,¹ and very modest sums were then paid for his pictures.² This serves to caution modern critics about presuming too simple an equivalence between the values of their own times and Cuyp's day. Such sparse evidence as there is hardly reveals the quantity or range of patrons and commissions Cuyp is likely to have had; and initial prices cannot be compared with modern prices in the sense of indicating attitudes to the relative quality of his art or the desirability of his pictures as possessions. The apparent cheapness of his works does not mean that they were held in low esteem by patrons or other artists. No contemporary Dutch writings on art disparaged that choice of subject-matter, and the pictures were made of the same materials and to the same technical standards as paintings in other genres. Whatever the determinants of the economic value of Cuyp's pictures, it must be presumed that Dordrecht society provided enough positive encouragement for their production. His large 'later' canvases of cattle, probably

¹A. Bredius: op. cit. (*Kunstchronik*, 1913), cols 409-11.

²See pp. 221-2 below for specific details. Recent sources for comparative figures are J. M. Montias: Artists and artisans in Delft: a socioeconomic study of the seventeenth century (Princeton, 1982), p. 242, table 8.3 and A. Chong: op. cit. (1987), pp. 104-20.

'made-to-measure' private commissions for the wealthiest Dordtenaars, as well as his smaller panels for the general market both met and fuelled demand for images that must have been valued principally for their aesthetic properties. As the discussion above has suggested, these original perceptions rest on cultural imperatives with which modern observers are largely unfamiliar. In order to retrieve the 17th-century terms on which Cuyp's works functioned and were enjoyed, the accretions of later criticism need to be identified and peeled away, regarding not only commentary on individual works but also biographical data. Through a study of Cuyp's family circumstances and the Dordrecht of his day, this chapter will endeavour to clarify the details of his life and working arrangements, on which his contemporary standing and later influence can be more reliably assessed.

5.1 THE CUYP FAMILY

The most detailed account of the Cuyp family yet published appeared in 1977 in the catalogue accompanying the Dordrechts Museum's exhibition entitled Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie.³ The Dordrecht Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst's extensive records have yet to be comprehensively probed for information on the Cuyp family and other aspects of the town's art life in the 17th century.⁴ The scarcity of reliable contemporary sources so far examined has somewhat

³Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), pp. 12-21. See Bibliography below for a full list of published sources.

⁴J. M. de Groot [personal communication].

limited the accuracy of previous reconstructions of Cuyp's life and work. The first accounts to be based on archival material were published a century ago by the Dordrecht art historian G. H. Veth.⁵ Subsequent writers added little new material to this, although they introduced and then repeated each other's sometimes unsubstantiated assertions, with the result that guesswork about Cuyp has through reiteration acquired the status of historical fact. Unfortunately this has perpetuated a number of late 19th-century misconceptions about the family and their oeuvre.⁶ With the benefit of research carried out at the Dordrecht Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst for the exhibition of 1977, new details were brought to light and it was possible to begin to rectify certain misconceptions.

The family tree of the Cuyps (see Appendix 5) indicates four generations of artists represented by nine individuals:

- (I) Gerrit (d 1605)
- (II) Gerrit Gerritszoon (1565-1644)
- (III) Abraham Gerritszoon (1588-c. 1647)
 - Jacob Gerritszoon (1594-1651/2)
 - Gerrit Gerritszoon jr (1603-51)
 - Benjamin Gerritszoon (1612-52)

⁵G. H. Veth: 'Aelbert Cuyp, Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp en Benjamin Cuyp', Oud-Holland, ii (1884), pp. 233-90; --: 'Aanteekeningen omtrent eenige Dordrechtsche schilders', Oud-Holland, vi (1888), pp. 131-48; xxi (1903), pp. 114-16.

⁶Hofstede de Groot, for example, felt able to claim that: "Cuyp was one of the few great artists whose works were prized by their own contemporaries, and who therefore had not to endure extreme poverty." C. Hofstede de Groot: op. cit., p. 1.

- (IV) Jacob Abrahamszoon (b 1616)
Aelbert Jacobszoon (1620-91)
Daniël Abrahamszoon (b 1628)

Both Jacob Gerritszoon and Benjamin Gerritszoon became fine painters although Abraham Gerritszoon and Gerrit Gerritszoon jr, like their father and grandfather, worked as glassmakers and glass painters: Abraham Gerritszoon entered the St Lucasgilde in Dordrecht as a glassmaker on 11 October 1612. In 1619 he was recorded as renting a house on the Nieuwe Haven from Cornelis Mesjan.⁷ Two of Abraham Gerritszoon's sons also became artists: Jacob Abrahamszoon (from his first marriage, to Janneken Tonis Janssendr) a glassmaker and Daniël Abrahamszoon (from his second marriage, to Neeltgen Cornelisdr) a stone mason and sculptor.⁸ Gerrit Gerritszoon jr entered the Dordrecht St Lucasgilde as a glassmaker on 27 January 1631 (the same day as Benjamin Gerritszoon); when his father died in 1644 he sold the glass-making business and moved away to take up an administrative position with St Anthoniepolder.⁹

5.2 GERRIT GERRITSZOOM CUYP

Gerrit Gerritszoon, father of Jacob Gerritszoon and Benjamin Gerritszoon and grandfather of Aelbert, was born in Venlo in

⁷See Appendix 4, pp. 286-7 for the Mesjan family's connections with Richard Farington.

⁸Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), pp. 13, 15-16. G. H. Veth: 'Het Sint Lucas-gild te Dordrecht', Archief voor nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis, ed. F. D. O. Obreen, 7 vols (Rotterdam, 1877-90, R Soest, 1976), i (1877-8), pp. 196.

⁹Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), pp. 15-16. G. H. Veth: op. cit. (1887-8), p. 207.

1565 and died in Dordrecht in 1644 aged 79. He probably moved to Dordrecht c. 1585 with his father, Gerrit, who entered the St Lucasgilde there, possibly as a glass painter.¹⁰ Gerrit Gerritszoon married five times in all: first, in 1585, to Geerten Matthijsdr (d 1601). They had seven children including Jacob Gerritszoon. Benjamin Gerritszoon was one of four children of his second marriage, in 1602 to Everijnken Albertsdr (d 1622); she already had two children from her first marriage to Herman Janse. In 1623 Gerrit Gerritszoon married Haesgen Hendrick Laurensdr (d 1624), in 1624 Aegken Ariaens (d 1624) and in 1625 Anneken Tielmansdr van Braght.¹¹ He lived in a house with a studio on Tolbrugstraat and later also rented a parcel of land outside the St Jorispoort, at the south of the old town.¹²

The Dordrecht archives indicate that Gerrit Gerritszoon was active as a glassmaker, glass painter, grofschilder (coarse painter) and fijnschilder (fine painter) and entered the St Lucasgilde on 19 January 1585 as a glass painter.¹³ He held

¹⁰Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 14.

¹¹She was the widow of Gerrit Stoffels and may have been related to Tieleman Jansz. van Bracht (1625-64), author of a noted book of martyrs: Het bloedigh toneel of martelaars spiegel der doopsgezinde of weerelose christenen ... (Dordrecht, 1660), and to the poet Tieleman van Bracht (d 1715). See note 109 below. Gerrit Gerritszoon jr married Bellingtje Tielmans Pleunisdr van Braght in 1629, perhaps another relative.

¹²Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 14.

¹³G. H. Veth: op. cit. (1887-8), p. 183.

office as boekhouder (1606-8) and deken (1608-9). He received important commissions from the town authorities, the most famous of which was completed in 1597 - a monumental stained-glass window (12 x 5 m) depicting the Maaqd van Dordrecht¹⁴ - and installed in the St Janskerk, Gouda, as a gift from Dordrecht. The church had to be rebuilt after a fire in 1522, and it was the practice to seek patrons to donate individual windows. Other donors included Willem I of Orange Nassau, King Philip II, the Regent Margaret of Parma, Georg van Egmond, Bishop of Utrecht, the States of Holland and principal towns in Holland including Leiden, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Haarlem. Ten of the windows were made between 1555 and 1571 by Dirck Crabeth (fl 1540-74) and four by his brother Wouter (c. 1595-1644), perhaps the leading glass painters then active in the Netherlands. Although Gerrit Gerritszoon's work has mostly been replaced in a sequence of restorations,¹⁵ his original full-size cartoon exists in fine condition in Gouda¹⁶ (the authorities bought it from him in 1598 for fl 36). It is in charcoal with sepia wash and white and red

¹⁴Based on the design of the 'maecht van Hollant' painted by Clemens Clemensz for the St Jorispoort of Dordrecht in 1554. W. Veerman: 'Gerrit Gerritsz. Cuyp', Spiegel Historiae, viii (1973), p. 110; --: 'Een traditie', Kwartaal en Teken Dordrecht, iii/3-4 (1977), pp. 1-5. See pp. 197-8 above on the iconography of the maagd.

¹⁵W. Veerman: op. cit. (1973), pp. 113-4. The window, nr 3, was attributed to the Goudse artist Adriaen de Vrije from 1639 to 1938.

¹⁶Gouda, Archief Nederlands Hervormde Gemeente.

chalk and was exhibited in Dordrecht in 1977.¹⁷

Gerrit Gerritszoon's Gouda window design was used by different craftsmen to create an almost identical work in Edam, for another Dordrecht gift.¹⁸ He himself was engaged to make further stained-glass windows, several for churches in towns outside Dordrecht such as Woudrichem (1605), Noordeloos (1608), Haestrecht (1614), Klundert (1618), Werckendam (1629) and Maassluis (1639). Other records in the Dordrecht archives show he was employed painting cranes in the harbours and for work at the Hof, the Cloveniersdoelen and Kruisboogdoelen and the town weighhouses. In 1604 he painted the town harpsichord, which was in the care of Hendrik Spuey, the town's organist.¹⁹ In 1618 he painted the

¹⁷Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), nr 36.

¹⁸In 1606; the craftsmen, Simon Dircxs. and Pouwen Heyns, were paid 250 ponden. W. Veerman: op. cit. (1973), p. 114.

¹⁹Hendrik Spuey (1575-1625) was appointed organist in 1595 at the Grote Kerk and the Augustijnenkerk. The harpsichord was purchased for his use in 1604. Spuey also composed music and his De psalmen Davids (Dordrecht, 1610) is the earliest Dutch printed keyboard music (published by Pieter Verhagen; the British Library, London, has a copy). A. Curtis: 'Hendrick Speuy and the earliest printed Dutch keyboard music', Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, xix (1960-61), pp. 143-62. P. C. Molhuysen and F. H. K. Kossman, eds: Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, 10 vols (Leiden, 1911-37), ii, col. 1349, v, 786.

An item in the Gouda town archives for 1610 states: "Betaelt aen Henrick Speny [sic], organist tot Dordrecht, de somme van twaelf gl. die hem by de magistraat syn toegevoucht ter zaecke van de nombre van dertyn exemplaren ofte boecken, inhoudende de psalmen Davidts, gestelt op het Tabulature van het orgel ende clavecymnel. der hy selfs auctuer aff is, hemtot een vereeringe geschoncken ... XII gl." N. Scheltma: 'Aanteekening betrekkelijk Goudsche kunstenaars enz.', Archief voor nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis (op. cit.), iii

coats of arms and the figure of the Maagd van Dordrecht on the Groothoofdspoort²⁰ and in 1623 he had work at the Oude Manhuis, the West-Indische Compagnie building and at town schools. He also manufactured and supplied glass to the Dordrecht authorities and other customers, and his contract as town glassmaker was extended for six years in 1638.²¹ The tools and materials of Gerrit Gerritszoon's craft were clearly identified in an inventory made in 1622 at the house on Tolbrugstraat:

- "- veertich Karolusgulden van Frans glas, 40 gld.
- item aan Oosterss glas, 24 gld.
- desen lootwinden [lead mills]; een tot 18 gld., noch twee lootwinden, 14 gld., noch een oude lootwint, 1 gld. 10 st.
- vijff groote wercktaeffels, 5 gld. 10 st.
- noch verscheyde andere gereetschap [equipment] als bouts [bolts], wynckelhaken [carpenters' squares] ende anders, 4 gld. 10 st.
- item vijfftig pont gegote [cast] loot, 3 gld. 15 st.
- item verscheyden coloren van glas, 4 gld.
- item eenige papieren van oude glaespatroenen, 2 gld.
- item een copere plaet daer men verw op vrijft, 3 gld.
- 4 tonnen grasijs, 7 gld. 4 st."²²

The inventory also itemised 27 pictures, some prints and 10

(1880-81), p. 48.

²⁰The Groothoofdspoort was designed by the Amsterdam architect Hendrik de Keyser (1565-1621) in 1618 and the tower was finally completed by 1690. Relief sculptures were made by Aemelius and Samuel Huppe (the latter was Abraham van Calraet's teacher). G. A. S. Snijder: Dordrecht (Vienna, 1920), p. 12 (German ed.); p. 14 (Dutch ed.).

²¹Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 15.

²²Total value: fl 127-10. (*ibid.*), pp. 14-15. The last item has not been conclusively translated [Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, personal communication]. One opinion is that it should be "glasijs", which could perhaps mean small glass fragments.

books in his possession, in all worth over fl 230:

- "- een schilderije van Jacobs leer, 12 gld.
- 2 geschilderde hondekens, 8 gld.
- een geschildert dootshoofd [skull] met een kinden, 1 gld. 10 stuivers
- een schilderije van Abraham, 2 gld. 10 st.
- in de koken 4 schilderijen, 4 gld. 16 st.
- de schilderije van de verloren soon.
- op de achterkamer negen schilderijkens, daaronder een schilderije van Ezechiel, 30 gld.
- het conterfeytsel [portrait] van hem met sijne voorss. huysvrouw.
- vijff cleene pinneelkens sonder lijsten [panels without frames], 7 gld.
- noch een schilderijken van een dootshoofden met een kindeken, 2 gld."

- "- drye kunstboucken, 4 gld.
- item versceyde printen, soo historien etc. voor glaeschrijven etc., 20 gld.
- eenen grooten Bijbel, eenen cleenen, een testament, een huysboek, een martelaersboek met noch twee ander boucken, 12 gld."²³

Gerrit Gerritszoon was 40 when his father, Gerrit, died in 1605; his son Jacob Gerritszoon was then 11. When Gerrit Gerritszoon himself died aged 79 (buried on 15 May 1644), Jacob Gerritszoon was 49 and his son Aelbert was 23.

5.3 JACOB GERRITSZOOM CUYP

Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp, Aelbert's father, was born and died in Dordrecht.²⁴ Aelbert's mother, Aertken Cornelis van Cootendr (d 1654), came from Utrecht and married Jacob

²³The paintings were valued at fl 67-15, the books and prints, fl 36. (*ibid.*), pp. 14-15.

²⁴According to C. J. P. Lips he died on 23 October 1651. C. J. P. Lips: Wandelingen door oud-Dordrecht (Zaltbommel, 1974), pp. 264, 266. Other sources do not confirm such a precise date. See also Portret van een meester (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1975), [p. 2], which gives 1652 as the correct date.

Gerritszoon on 13 November 1618. He lived at the corner of Schrijverstraat in 1618, then with Aertken until c. 1622 at a house by the Blauwpoort²⁵ and thereafter at "Samson", a house on the Voorstraat side of the Nieuw Brug, which he enlarged and where Aelbert also lived, for 36 years, until 1658; he also owned another house on Kolfstraat.²⁶ Jacob Gerritszoon probably received part of his training away from home (according to Houbraken it was with Abraham Bloemaert) in Utrecht before 1617, the year in which he was admitted to the Dordrecht St Lucasgilde, aged 22.²⁷ He was one of Dordrecht's leading artists up to 1650, obtaining portrait commissions from middle-ranking business and professional people as well as from the regent class.²⁸ He painted male and female adult sitters in their sober 'uniform' black suits with white collars or millstone ruffs, and children of the wealthy, dressed up in stylised pastoral costumes, in accordance with the vogue that was then current in the

²⁵According to Lips it was a house on the Nieuwe Haven. op. cit., p. 266.

²⁶Portret ven een meester (op. cit.), p. 16. C. J. P. Lips: op. cit. (Wandeling), pp. 264-6.

²⁷On 18 July 1617. Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 16. A. Houbraken: op. cit., i, p. 237.

²⁸Examples of his sitters include the Dordrecht historian, doctor and writer, Johan Beverwijck (1643; engraved by Salomon Savery; Hollstein 18. See E. Michel: 'Les Cuyp, une famille d'artistes hollandais', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, vii (1892), p. 9. See also pp. 228-9 and note 88 below); Johannes Gevaerts, ouderling of the Waalse Gemeente in Dordrecht (1642); Jan Pieters de Bye, burgemeester of Leiden in 1616; Margaretha de Geer (d 1672; portrait 1651), wife of Jacob Trip (see note 112 below), and Anthonis Repelaer (1591-1652; portrait 1647. See Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie, op. cit., nr 7).

Netherlands. According to Kettering, Jacob Gerritszoon and Aelbert produced in the late 1630s and the 1640s the largest number of such surviving works. Many are group portraits, for example Three children in a landscape and Four children in a landscape.²⁹ She has drawn attention to one in particular, Jacob Gerritszoon's Portrait of two children with a lamb, as:

"...the only portrait from the entire group of pastoral portraits that refers in such frank terms to the town-country contrast lying at the heart of so much georgic and pastoral literature"³⁰ -

an interesting observation in the light of comments above about Jacob Gerritszoon's early influence on Aelbert, and in relation to the recurring town-country theme in Aelbert's cattle pictures. Jacob Gerritszoon produced at least one 'official' group portrait, Governors, officials and master minters of the Mint of Holland.³¹ This work was a prestigious commission, valuable for Jacob Gerritszoon's reputation, especially as it was received at the outset of his career. It did not, however, lead to the commission for the group portrait of the Synod that opened in Dordrecht in

²⁹1635; Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. See Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), nr 5 and S. Reiss: op. cit., nr 50. See also A. M. Kettering: op. cit., p. 64.

³⁰1638; Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. See A. M. Kettering: ibid., p. 74, fig. 71. See also Chapter 2, note 94.

³¹1617; Dordrecht, Museum Mr Simon van Gijn. See Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), nr 1.

the following year: Paulus Weyts the younger was chosen.³² Jacob Gerritszoon's other main subject was animals: sheep and goats principally and also cattle, horses and dogs. He made a series of 12 drawings, engraved by Reinier van Persijn (c. 1615-88) and published by Nicolaes Visscher as Diversia animalia quadrupedia ad vivum delineata a Iacopo Cupio (Antwerp, 1641).³³

Jacob Gerritszoon was a well-known figure in Dordrecht: he played a prominent role in the town's art life in the 1630s and 1640s, serving as the St Lucasgilde's boekhouder in 1629, 1633, 1637 and 1641, and led the founding in 1642 of the Confrerie of St Lucas for painters, separate from the craftsmen in the St Lucasgilde, along with Cornelis Tegelberg,³⁴ Jacques Claeuw (c. 1620-after 1679)³⁵ and

³²The synod of Dordrecht 1618/19 (1621; Dordrecht, Stadhuis). See W. Spijker et al.: op. cit., cover and p. 86. See also G. H. Veth: op. cit. (1903), pp. 114-5. Adriaen van Venne's version (1619; Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk) was accompanied by political verses by Jacob Cats. See M. Royaltan-Kisch: op. cit., fig. 19.

³³Hollstein, v, 1-13 (twelve plus a title print). See also p. 72 above. Other engravings after his drawings include illustrations for Jacob Cats's 's Werelts begin, midden eynde de besloten in der trouwing met de proefsteen (Dordrecht, 1637; Hollstein 14) by Crispijn van den Queborne (1604-52). Van Persijn was active in Gouda and married Maria Crabeth, granddaughter of Wouter Crabeth (see p. 205 above).

³⁴See Appendix 4, pp. 286-7 and K. J. Müllenmeister: op. cit., ii (1978), p. 53.

³⁵He married Maria, second daughter of Jan van Goyen, in 1649 and lived across the road from Jacob Gerritszoon on the Nieuw Brug.

Isaack Hasselt (d 1647).³⁶ He was also an active member of the Waalse (Calvinist) Kerk, appointed deken in 1629 and 1634 and ouderling in 1641-2 and 1649-51. He was a delegate to the synods of 1642 in Middelburg and 1651 in 's Hertogenbosch with Nicolaes Vivien and Andreas Colvius.³⁷ The Dordrecht tax records show that Jacob Gerritszoon's financial position was never luxurious though he ran a prospering studio and his pupils included Bastiaen van der Leeuw (1624-80),³⁸ Paulus Lesire (1611-after 1656) and Ary Hubertsz. Verveer (c. 1626-after 1672).³⁹

5.4 BENJAMIN GERRITSZOOM CUYP

Benjamin Gerritszoon, Jacob Gerritszoon's half-brother and junior by 18 years, was probably active in the family studio in the early 1630s: according to Houbraken he was a fellow pupil with Aelbert. He was admitted to the St Lucasgilde in 1631 on the same day as his brother Gerrit Gerritszoon jr⁴⁰ and moved to The Hague by 1643. He is documented in Utrecht

³⁶A. Houbraken: op. cit., i, p. 238; C. J. P. Lips: op. cit. (Wandeling), p. 266. The secession of the Confrerie is discussed further below.

³⁷See Appendix 6 for Vivien and p. 231 below for Colvius.

³⁸See p. 242 below.

³⁹Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 16. See also studies of J. G. Cuyp by J. C. Heyligers: Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp, Porträt-, Genre- en Historienmaler zu Dordrecht, 1594-1652 (diss., U. Rostock, 1924) and G. H. Veth: op. cit. (1890), pp. 26-8; (1903), pp. 123-4.

⁴⁰A. Houbraken: op. cit., i, p. 248; F. D. O. Obreen, ed.: op. cit., i, p. 208.

in 1645⁴¹ and died in Dordrecht, in a house over the inn Mijns Heeren in Voorstraat that belonged to his half-brother Jan Huymensz, a glassmaker.⁴² Unlike the rest of his generation of the family he was not drawn to glass painting or portraiture, preferring biblical themes, battle scenes and peasant interiors.⁴³ His pictures may mistakenly have come to be assumed to be by his more famous nephew Aelbert from information in estate inventories and sale catalogues where works are identified only by the artists' surnames. This probably explains why some biographies say Aelbert painted battle scenes.⁴⁴ In a lottery held on 9 May 1649 at Wijk bij Duurstede by the painter Jan de Bondt, 17 pictures were ascribed to "Kuyp" together with three copies. Seven of these (lots 89-93, 96 and 99) were valued in the range fl

⁴¹Ten years of kunsthandel Schlichte Bergen, 1979-1989 (exh. cat., intro. A. Blankert; Amsterdam, 1989), p. 28. See also S. D. Kuretsky in Gods, saints and heroes: Dutch painting in the age of Rembrandt (op. cit.), p. 270.

⁴²J. van Dalen: 'Benjamin Gerritszoon Cuyp', Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek (op. cit.), iii, col. 349. Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 17.

⁴³See I. Ember: 'Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp (1612-52)', Acta Historiae Artium, xxv (1979), pp. 89-141; xxvi (1980), pp. 37-73. According to C. Hofstede de Groot he also "...delighted in painting" coastal scenes; op. cit. (1909), nrs 679c-680g.

⁴⁴See for example C. Hofstede de Groot: ibid., p. 3. However Hofstede de Groot ascribed to Benjamin Gerritszoon a painting of the Conversion of Saul (ibid., nr 10; Amsterdam, J. H. van Litsenburg private collection) that was listed as by Aelbert Cuyp at the Johan van der Linden van Slingelandt sale in Dordrecht in 1785 (lot 101; fl 325). The same work has since been restored to Aelbert's oeuvre. Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), nr. 27 and: Gods, saints and heroes: Dutch painting in the age of Rembrandt (op. cit.), nr 80, pp. 272-3.

34-52 and were probably by Benjamin Gerritszoon, given their subjects (including "een grote bataelie" [large battle], "een leger" [army], "een kersnacht" [nativity]); the rest were valued much lower (eight at fl 6, two at fl 7, two at fl 15 and one at fl 18).⁴⁵ Benjamin Gerritszoon's hand was, however, explicitly noted in at least three Dordrecht inventories made in 1660 and 1673 for subjects that included "een leger", "een batalie", "een kersnach", "Christi geboort" and "'t aenbidden der drye Coningen" [Adoration of the Three Kings].⁴⁶ He was a productive artist though his achievements have prompted mixed opinions:

" He was clearly one of the most original and individualistic of Dutch history painters, not only in his exceptionally free technique and monochromatic tonality, but also in his translation of biblical themes into the vocabulary of rowdy peasant genre painting."⁴⁷

That comment is interesting in the light of Koolhaas-Grosfeld's observation that 19th-century imitators of 17th-century themes too transformed history subjects into genre

⁴⁵V. de Stuers: 'De lotery van Jan de Bondt, 1649', Archief voor nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis (op. cit.), ii (1879-80), pp. 76, 87-90. See also the records of the Leiden St Lucasgilde for 1644-5, where four works by "Cuyp" are probably by Benjamin Gerritszoon. A. Bredius: 'De boeken van het Leidsche St Lucasgilde', Archief voor nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis (op. cit.), v (1882-3), pp. 176, 177, 179.

⁴⁶Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 18.

⁴⁷Gods, saints and heroes: Dutch painting in the age of Rembrandt (op. cit.), nr. 79, pp. 270-1, on Benjamin Gerritszoon's Conversion of Saul (c. 1640-50; Vienna, Gemäldegalerie, Akademie bildenden Künste). See also S. D. Kuretsky's essay 'Independents and eccentrics', ibid., pp. 253-7.

scenes.⁴⁹ Less enthusiastically, Haak wrote:

"[He] produced work so idiosyncratic that it stands almost alone in seventeenth-century art. [...] His manner of painting was virtuoso, but because his modeling was weak, Benjamin Cuyp never achieved great results."⁴⁹

5.5 AELBERT JACOBSZOOM CUYP

Aelbert Cuyp was born in Dordrecht in 1620 (baptised at the end of October) and died there, buried on 15 November 1691. His birth date used to be given as 1605, a mistake made by Houbraken in 1718,⁵⁰ who confused him with Aelbert Gerritszoon (1605-c. 1620) of the third generation, who died young. Aelbert Jacobszoon (baptised Aelbrecht) was an only child. He was married in 1658, aged 37, to Cornelia Bosman (1617-89), widow of Johan van den Corput (1609-50) and grand-daughter of Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641).⁵¹ She had three children from her first marriage and with Aelbert had one daughter, Arendina (1659-1702), who married Pieter Onderwater (d 1728) in 1690, when she was 31: the year before Aelbert died. Pieter was a widower whose first wife had been Maria Brandelaer (d 1689). Arendina and Pieter had one child, Cornelis, who died young (1691-6).

⁴⁹See pp. 265-6 below.

⁴⁹B. Haak: op. cit., p. 341. See also K. Böstrom: 'Benjamin Cuyp', Konsthistorisk Tidskrift, xiii (1944), pp. 59-74. Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), pp. 42-3.

⁵⁰Houbraken's biographies of Jacob Gerritszoon, Aelbert and Benjamin Gerritszoon (op. cit., i, pp. 237-8, 248-9) are brief and somewhat misleading; see pp. 19 and 157 above.

⁵¹M. Balen: op. cit., pp. 1015-27. See also the van den Corput family tree, Appendix 6.

There is no mention of Aelbert in the surviving records of the St Lucasgilde and the Confrerie though it can be supposed that he had entered the gilde by 1639 (the year of the first known dated picture) and transferred to the Confrerie soon after its formation. Aelbert's youth must have been conditioned by the everyday practical work and business arrangements of one of Dordrecht's leading studios. Both his father and grandfather were busy and in demand and, through their work, acquainted with some of the richest public and private patrons of the town. Both held office in the St Lucasgilde and were thereby prominent members of the artistic and artisan communities; Jacob Gerritszoon's Waalse Kerk activities involved him in additional public duties. By the time Aelbert had become an independent master, he would have been no stranger to Dordrecht public and professional circles, and probably took over more and more of the running of the family studio. He himself accepted a number of public offices in his own right: he was a diaken of the Hervormde Kerk in 1660/61 and ouderling a decade later, from 1672 to 1674. He was a regent of the Heilig Geest- en Pesthuis of the Grote Kerk from 1673 and member of the Hoge Vierschaar (High Court of Justice) for the province of South Holland from 1679 to 1682. Balen lists Cuyp among the nominees for the Viertig in 1672:

"Namen van honderd mannen ... door orde van zijn hoogheyd, den heere Prince van Orange, opten 4 Sept. 1672, aan de dekenen van gilden, en neeringen opgegeven, omme daar uyt weder aan te stellen, 't ambtgenootschap der mannen van

viertigen."⁵²

Cuyp's marriage further enhanced his social standing: Cornelia Bosman's mother, Maria, was Franciscus Gomarus's daughter⁵³ and Cornelia's first husband, Johan van den Corput, came from a local regent family and was a Dordrecht schout (sheriff) and held two Admiralty offices.⁵⁴ As the van den Corput family tree shows (see Appendix 6), Cuyp acquired connections through Cornelia to a number of other well-placed lines, including the de Witts, van Beverens and Pompe van Meerdervoorts.⁵⁵ One of the three surviving children of Cornelia's first marriage, Maria, married Willem Johansz. Beverwijck, (b 1625), son of the doctor, writer and historian of Dordrecht Johan van Beverwijck, whose portrait Jacob Gerritszoon had drawn in 1643.⁵⁶ Aelbert moved home, into Cornelia's house on Hofstraat, after their marriage and on 20 November 1663 he bought a house on Wijnstraat near the

⁵²[Names of one hundred men ... by order of his highness the lord Prince of Orange on the 4th Sept 1672, issued to the deans of the guilds and trades, out of which to appoint the company of the men of the forty.] M. Balen: op. cit., p. 909. It lists "Aalbrecht Kuyp, Jakobsz." but his name is not one of those marked: "De Veertigen, hier uyt aangesteld" [appointed] or "by surrogatie" [substitute].

⁵³Gomarus led the 'populist', pro-Orange faction of the religious dispute that dominated political life in Holland at the beginning of the 17th century. See note 32 above and M. Balen: op. cit., pp. 1015-27.

⁵⁴He was a delegate at Rotterdam and member of the Zeeland council.

⁵⁵M. Balen: op. cit., p. 1293.

⁵⁶See note 28 above.

Wijnkoperskapel, between those of Bartholomeus Bel and Willem Verlman. The house was owned by the three children of Johan van den Corput (Cornelia's first husband) and the four of Emerentia van Born (b 1613; Johan's sister),⁵⁷ on land belonging to Heer de Kat of Barendrecht. He also acquired another house on Wijnstraat opposite Schrijverstraat in 1663.⁵⁸

The conclusion has repeatedly been drawn, concerning the consequences of Aelbert's marriage on his career as a painter, that he became very wealthy and no longer needed to support himself through artistic work,⁵⁹ and that his wife's social rank and Calvinist disposition implied a disapproval of painting. It is thereby claimed that after his marriage Cuyp stopped painting and devoted himself to public life and the cultivation of his rising social status.⁶⁰ He was 37 years old when he married; he lived until he was 71 - another 33 years. The proposition that such a gifted artist should cease the activity for which he had been prepared since childhood and in which he had progressed so strongly for ^{almost} thirty years must be questioned. It is easy to see why the myth has grown up, given the scarcity of authentically dated works and the lack of documentary evidence about

⁵⁷M. Balen: op. cit., pp. 1026-7. See Appendix 6.

⁵⁸Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 18.

⁵⁹For example, recently: Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (op. cit.), p. 290.

⁶⁰ibid., pp. 5, 82, 290.

Cuyp's working arrangements. Rather than leave this question unresolved, writers have presumed to construct an unsubstantiated story, even though the facts do not point conclusively to Cuyp's abandonment of painting around 1660. Holding public and professional offices could be quite compatible with a continuing and serious commitment to painting (this was demonstrated by Jacob Gerritszoon and was equally so for many other practising artists). Also, Cuyp would in any case never have expected to confine his income solely to selling his own paintings either before or after his marriage. The pictures he produced were not valued highly on the open market⁶¹ and the private commissions, though they earned relatively more, would have been unlikely to guarantee surplus income. He would therefore have expected to look to other sources (such as training pupils and dealing in paintings) as a matter of course, as was the case for all but a handful of the most favoured artists who could count on court and international patronage.⁶² This does not have to mean Cuyp could not afford to continue painting or that he was bound to give up painting once his financial means improved, or that his wife's faith or family would not have tolerated painting. By the late 1650s Calvinist precepts had become well assimilated into the urban culture, and the art of the period was not at odds with that moralising piety. Indeed, insofar as landscape art

⁶¹See pp. 221-2 below.

⁶²B. Haak: op. cit., pp. 34-5.

was subject to pietistic readings it enabled the spiritual concepts themselves to be re-presented through imagery that could be instructive and enjoyable at the same time.⁶³

The legend about the change in Cuyp after his marriage, if it did not begin during his lifetime, arose very soon after his death, perhaps starting with Houbraken, and has formed the basis for the assertion that Cuyp hardly touched a brush after he had reached 40. Since the archives do contain numerous indications of his non-artistic activities it is obvious that he did have other pursuits.⁶⁴ On the other hand, the wills of Cuyp and his wife contain explicit references to works to be made in the future. In his will of 1659 Cuyp put:

"Hij testateur verclaerde gemaect en gelegateert te hebben aan zyne l(ieve) huysvrouw de lyftocht ende vrucht gebruyck haer leven lanck gedurende van alle de schilderijen die hy testateur soo ten houwelyck aangebracht als staende houwelycke gemaect soude mogen hebben."

Cornelia's wills of 1664 and 1679 said:

"Cuyp zal krijgen alle de stucken schilderyen, tzy cleyn ofte groot, die by denselven haeren man staende houwelyck gemaect zyn ofte alsnoch gemaect soudén mogen werden."⁶⁵

⁶³See for example p. 174 above.

⁶⁴Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 55.

⁶⁵[He the declared testator made and bequeathed to his dear wife to have the material and beneficial use during her lifetime of all the paintings that he the testator brought to the marriage or will have made during the marriage.] [Cuyp shall receive all the paintings, whether small or large, that are or will be made by the same her husband during the marriage.] A. Bredius: 'Een laatste woord over de

It is therefore more likely that Cuyp continued painting for longer than has been generally thought, even if his rate of production slowed and if fewer of the works were produced for specific commissions.⁶⁶

It is possible to assess the value of some of Cuyp's works from estate inventories made during his lifetime in which he is identified. Chong has calculated that average values for his landscapes were fl 26.6 between 1651 and 1675 (five works) and fl 13.5 between 1676 and 1700 (twelve works), the two highest valuations being fl 80 (1675) and fl 31 (1688).⁶⁷ Bredius described the Dordrecht collection of Aart Teggiers, valued in 1688, in which two pictures of horses by Cuyp were valued at fl 10, two small water landscapes at fl 6, a view of the doelen at fl 31, a Baptism of the Eunuch fl 20 and a Joseph subject fl 16. In the same collection a van Goyen landscape was valued at fl 30 and a picture by Wouwermans at fl 200. In Gillis van Hemert's legacy two landscapes by Cuyp were valued in 1660 at fl 18. Willem Heyblom's widow's estate included in 1671 an equestrian portrait worth fl 15 and another work by Cuyp worth fl 20,

Dalraet kwestie', Oude Kunst, i (1915/16), pp. 293-4.

⁶⁶Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), pp. 18-19, 55. Bredius concluded: "Cuyp hat, bis zu seiner Ehe, als ausübender Künstler gemalt. Dann aber, sehr reich, sehr vornehm, hat er das verkaufen seiner Bilder aufgegeben und nur für sich selbst gemalt. Seinen Freunden mag er ja wohl ab und zu ein Bild geschenckt haben, aber auf Bestellung hat er kaum mehr gearbeitet." A. Bredius: op. cit. (1913), col. 411.

⁶⁷A. Chong: op. cit. (1987), pp. 117-18 and Table 3.

plus two works by Benjamin Gerritszoon for fl 15 and fl 25. In 1675 the widow of Arent Dichters owned a view of shipping at Nijmegen valued at fl 80 and a scene of the Three Kings by Benjamin Gerritszoon worth fl 60. Adriaen van Slingelandt's collection included in 1676 a river view of Dordrecht at fl 10 and a Siege of Breda at fl 18.⁴⁸ The average figure for all landscapes between 1625 and 1675 was fl 23 (or fl 11.25 if not attributed). Landscapes with animals were the lowest of the range, marine views were higher and Italianate landscapes with mythological figures the highest: by the end of the 17th century typical values of Italianate landscapes were in the range fl 100-500.⁴⁹ The conclusion seems clear: although landscape paintings were not valued highly in money terms during the 17th century in Dordrecht or elsewhere in the Netherlands, nothing suggests either that this deterred artists from producing them or that it caused instabilities in the demand for these works. Their value to buyers and artists as 'aesthetic property' was sufficiently firm to stimulate and maintain taste for them and gave Cuyp every encouragement to explore the possibilities of the subject-matter over many years, before and after he married.

The paintings Cuyp possessed were inherited by his daughter, Arendina, and passed on to her descendants in the Onderwater

⁴⁸A. Bredius: op. cit. (1913), cols 409-11.

⁴⁹A. Chong: op. cit. (1987), Table 2.

family. Arendina's husband, Pieter Onderwater, was from 1692 the owner of a house outside Dordrecht called Dordwijk and may have rented it before then, that is, while Aelbert was still alive, from the van Beveren family.⁷⁰ There is no evidence whatsoever that Aelbert Cuyp ever owned Dordwijk despite the frequent repetitions of this myth, which has styled him as a rich landowner. Dordwijk, situated south-west of Dordrecht towards Dubbeldam (see Fig. H), built in 1635, was later described as:

"Het aanzienlijke Landgoed, genaamd Dordwijk, zeer aangenaam gelegen te Dubbeldam, aan den Straatweg naar Dubbeldam, bestaande in Heerenhuizing, koepel, tuinmanswoning, vijvers, Engelsche partijen, Moestuyn, Broeijerij en Boomgarden beplant met fijne vruchtbomen."⁷¹

The mistaken impression that the property belonged to Aelbert Cuyp was refuted by G. H. Veth over a century ago, as the Dordrecht archives confirm.⁷² Recent reiterations of the myth nevertheless insist:

"There are strong grounds for believing that, for a variety of reasons, he largely gave up painting during the last thirty years of his life, devoting himself almost entirely to social works and to the management of an estate which he and

⁷⁰See Appendix 6 and pp. 229-30 below.

⁷¹[The distinguished property, called Dordwijk, very pleasantly situated at Dubbeldam, on the road to Dubbeldam, comprising manor house, summer house, gardener's quarters, ponds, English gardens, kitchen garden, hot house and orchard planted with fruit trees.] C. J. P. Lips: 'Buitenplaatsen op het eiland van Dordrecht', Dordrecht, stad in de ruimte (op. cit.), p. 109. It was restored in 1856 and again in 1940.

⁷²G. H. Veth: op. cit. (1884), p. 233. Dordracum Illustratum (Dordrecht, 1908-12), nr 1997, p. 392.

Cornelia had acquired just outside Dordrecht."⁷³

and:

"[He] ... could permit himself a country estate, called Dordtwijk."⁷⁴

Because these and other generally well-informed writers have persisted in ignoring the archival evidence, they must find the false image of Cuyp more relevant to their outlook: 'Cuyp the rich owner of Dordwijk' has become one of the cultural imperatives that continues to influence modern readings of the artist. Cuyp outlived his wife by two years and died in his son-in-law's Dordrecht house, called "In de leliën", on Voorstraat at the corner of Lombardstraat.⁷⁵ He was buried in the Augustijnenkerk next to Cornelia, though his mother and his grandfather Gerrit Gerritszoon were buried in the Grote Kerk.⁷⁶

5.6 DORDRECHT IN CUYP'S DAY

Cuyp was a loyal citizen of Dordrecht, devoting his entire artistic career to it and doing public service for local charitable, church and governmental institutions. Though other artists were attracted away, for example to The Hague

⁷³S. Reiss: op. cit. (1973), [p. 1].

⁷⁴B. Haak: op. cit., p. 417.

⁷⁵According to some sources the house is described as a brewery. Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 19. Lips gives the name as "De drie leliën"; op. cit. (Wandelingen), p. 266.

⁷⁶Members of the van den Corput family were buried in the Augustijnenkerk.

like Benjamin Gerritszoon, or to Amsterdam, where so many leading Dutch artists settled, Cuyp preferred to stay in Dordrecht. What sort of cultural milieu did it provide? Two facts in its history, which at first sight may not seem relevant, are important determinants that help to explain basic characteristics of Dordrecht's culture: the stapelrecht and the St Elisabeth's day floods.

In 1299 Dordrecht was granted the stapelrecht by royal decree: this privilege obliged all shipping passing the port to offer its cargoes for sale there. It provided a guaranteed economic advantage over other markets and thereby assured Dordrecht's pre-eminence as a trading centre, which in turn produced the opportunities for individuals to prosper substantially. The town, which was already one of the oldest and most important in medieval Holland, had its long-term future underwritten by the huge benefits of the stapelrecht.⁷⁷ The St Elisabeth's day floods, on the other hand, transformed Dordrecht's topography in one sudden, catastrophic moment: the night of 17/18 November 1421. Up to then Dordrecht had been situated on the River Maas at the north west boundary of a large region (500 sq km) called the Grote or Zuid-Hollandsche Waard. Following the floods the inundated area south and east of the town disappeared under water, leaving Dordrecht on a small island completely

⁷⁷H. Blink: 'De ontwikkeling en tegenwoordige economische betekenis van Dordrecht', Tijdschrift voor Economische Geografie, xiv (1923), pp. 280-86.

detached from its former hinterland (see Figs I, J).⁷⁸ No longer able to function as a commercial centre linked by land to an extensive zone of agricultural production (scores of farms and villages were drowned), it was forcibly transformed into a tightly packed urban community cut off by water on all sides, entirely dependent on the rivers and canals for trade and communications. The ruined town walls and dikes were replaced soon after the floods but it was not until the 17th century that the marshy tracts on the edge of the island began to be reclaimed, when four polders were built between 1616 and 1659,⁷⁹ adding about 2000 ha (see the map reproduced as Fig. H). Much later in the 18th and 19th centuries the island was significantly enlarged through further impoldering schemes.⁸⁰

It is against this background that Dordrecht's economy developed in the 15th and 16th centuries. By 1515 its population had reached about 9000; in the next hundred years this figure doubled, to 18,270 in 1622, some measure of the dramatic urbanisation that characterised Holland's towns in the 17th century. Thereafter, its population growth peaked

⁷⁸Balen's Beschryvinge includes an engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe after A. Houbraken showing a panoramic view of the drowned villages (facing p. 768; Hollstein, ix, nr 56). The anonymous panels depicting the same subject (see Figs I and J) are referred to on p. 84 above.

⁷⁹Noord- or Merwedepolder (1616); Zuidpolder (1617); Alloysenpolder (1652); Polder Wieldrecht (1659). See pp. 234-5 below for further details on Polder Wieldrecht.

⁸⁰H. A. Visscher: Het eiland van Dordrecht: een verkenning van een bloeiende streek (Dordrecht, 1986), p. 119.

about 22,000 around the end of the 17th century and remained at that level for most of the 1800s.⁸¹ The tone of Matthijs Balen's Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht,⁸² and the fact that it was the third history and description of Dordrecht to be published in the 17th century, suggests that Dordtenaars took great pride in their town's seniority and historic importance. Indeed, to underwrite the publication of Balen's book, the authorities paid fl 1000 for 100 copies specially printed on better paper and with wider margins:

"... tot excouragement van de drukkers
ende voortsettinge van soo goeden werck,
bij dese stats regeringe hondert
exemplaire werden aangenomen omme aen alle
de leden en ministers van deselve
gedistribueert, verdeelt en betaelt te
worden."⁸³

It opens with forewords and lofdichten by several leading Dordtenaars and comprises four parts: a description of South Holland and the manorial lands around Dordrecht; the town itself with its principal buildings and institutions; its government, privileges and charters; and a history of Dordrecht from the year 65, followed by family trees and coats of arms of 42 regent families. Balen drew on Johan van

⁸¹I. Tirion: op. cit., pp. 4-5, 289, 304-5. See also J. de Vries: op. cit. (1974), p. 90 and A. M. van der Woude: op. cit. (1972), i, p. 114. By 1732, the population of North and South Holland together was c. 900,000, of which about 600,000 lived in towns. I. Tirion: ibid., pp. 4-5, 289.

⁸²Dordrecht, 1677; facsimile, intro. A. J. Busch, 1966.

⁸³[...to encourage the printers and the progress of this good work, one hundred copies were accepted by the authorities of this town to be distributed to all the members and ministers of the same, allocated and paid for.] Gedrukt in Dordrecht (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1976), p. 19.

Beverwijck's 't Begin van Hollant in Dordrecht⁸⁴ and on the descriptions of South Holland by Wouter van Gouthoeven (1577-1628)⁸⁵ and Jacob van Oudenhoven (d 1690).⁸⁶ The work, of over 1400 pages, some copies bound as two volumes, includes portraits, maps and illustrations of Dordrecht.⁸⁷

Van Beverwijck was "medecijn ordinarius der stad Dordrecht", a writer on medical and social matters and held public and charitable offices in the town.⁸⁸ His Van de wtneementheyd des vrouwelicken geslachts (Dordrecht, 1639), an essay on the status of women, contains illustrations by Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp.⁸⁹ His second wife, Elisabeth de Backere, was the daughter of Jacobmina de Witt and he was related through his mother, Maria Boot van Wesel, to the anatomist Andreas Vesalius (1514-64). He belonged, as did van

⁸⁴Dordrecht, 1640; facsimile, Nieuwendijk, 1972.

⁸⁵D'oude chronijcke ende historien van Holland (met West-Friesland) van Zeeland ende van Utrecht (Dordrecht, 1620).

⁸⁶Oud-Holland, Nu Zuyt-Holland (Dordrecht, 1654).

⁸⁷See also pp. 257-8 below on later additional illustrations. The portrait of Balen himself for the frontispiece was engraved by Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708) after a painting by Samuel van Hoogstraten (Dordracum Illustratum, nr 3194). Another portrait of Balen is known (Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum), painted by Cuyp's pupil Barend van Calraet. See p. 242 below.

⁸⁸M. Balen: op. cit., p. 983. See also note 28 above on Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp's portrait of him, p. 217 above for his family connections with the van den Corputs, and E. D. Baumann: Johan van Beverwijck in leven en werken geschetst (Dordrecht, 1910).

⁸⁹Engraved by Crispijn van den Queborne. Hollstein, v, 15-17.

Gouthoeven, to the Develsteyner Kring, a literary circle around Jacob Cats⁹⁰ associated with Slot Develsteyn, the manor of the Dordrecht regent Cornelis van Beveren (1591-1663),⁹¹ whose family had owned land and properties in and around Dordrecht for generations. Van Beveren's sons were depicted by Aelbert Cuyp in an equestrian portrait (R 122) and his grandsons, the Pompe van Meerdervoorts, in a similar work (R 121); the Avenue at Meerdervoort⁹² was probably also commissioned by him.⁹³ Zuidhoven, a country house close to the town on land that dated to before the St Elisabeth's day floods and Dordwijk, Pieter Onderwater's house near Dubbeldam,⁹⁴ also belonged to the van Beverens at one time.

Other members of the Develsteyner Kring included Pieter van

⁹⁰Cats was enormously successful as a writer, his emblem books (see p. 70 above) and his poetry finding a large popular audience. He was active in public life, first in Middelburg (Pensionaris 1621-3), then in Dordrecht (Pensionaris 1623-36) and thereafter at The Hague, where he served as Raad Pensionaris of Holland from 1636 to 1651. See also H. Smilde: Jacob Cats in Dordrecht: leven en werken gedurende de jaren 1623-1636 (Groningen, 1938) and View eeuwen Jacob Cats (exh. cat. by L. Strenght et al., Brouwershaven, Magazijn Tonnen; Middelburg, Amdij, 1977) and Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek (op. cit.), vi, cols 279-85.

⁹¹Slot Develsteyn is at Zwiindrecht, opposite Dordrecht across the River Maas (see Fig. H). Van Beveren's portrait, engraved by Jonas Suyderhoef (1613-86), appears in Balen's Beschryvinge facing p. 222. See also M. A. Beelaerts van Blokland: 'Het geslacht Van Beveren - De Bevere(n)', Nederlandse Leeuw, lxi (1943), cols 161-71; lxii (1943), cols 70-77, 81-92, 125-34.

⁹²See pp. 181-5 above.

⁹³S. Reiss: op. cit., p. 9.

⁹⁴See pp. 223-4 above.

Godewyck (1593-1660) and his daughter Margaretha (1627-77). He was a writer and librarian who set up the catalogue of books in the Dordrecht library in 1616. She was an unusually well educated and capable woman: as well as her knowledge of French, English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, she was an accomplished musician, embroiderer and glass painter and is said to have studied with Nicolaes Maes and Cornelis Bisschop (1630-1674).⁹⁵

Van Beverwijck and Cats counted artists and scientists among their friends and met regularly with Samuel van Hoogstraten⁹⁶ and Isaac Beeckman (1588-1637), a Dordtse teacher and scientist who is known through four volumes of notebooks written in a mixture of Dutch and Latin.⁹⁷ Beeckman had wide interests in what is now called physics and corresponded with many other writers and thinkers including Descartes; he made original contributions to the theory of musical sound.⁹⁸ Samuel van Hoogstraten, in

⁹⁵Her self-portrait appears in Balen's Beschryvinge, facing p. 203. See also Appendix 4, p. 287, and J. G. Frederiks and F. J. van den Branden: Biographisch woordenboek der noord en zuidnederlandsche letterkunde (Amsterdam, 1888), p. 283.

⁹⁶Sara Balen, first cousin of Matthijs Balen, married Samuel van Hoogstraten in 1656, two years before Aelbert Cuyp married Cornelia Bosman.

⁹⁷C. de Waard, ed.: Journal tenu par Isaac Beeckman de 1604 à 1634, 4 vols (The Hague, 1939-53). See also K. van Berkel: Isaac Beeckman (1588-1637) en de mechanisering van het wereld (Amsterdam, 1983), pp. 96-153.

⁹⁸H. F. Cohen: Quantifying music: the science of musical sound at the first stage of the scientific revolution, 1580-1650 (Dordrecht, 1984), pp. 116-61. Alpers has argued for a connection between the worlds of art and science through the example of Beeckman. She noted his interest in such subjects

addition to painting portraits and histories,⁹⁹ developed a particular interest in optics and made a number of perspective boxes; there is a long section in his Inleyding on the reflection of light.¹⁰⁰ Scientific interests were also pursued by Andreas Colvius (1594-1671), a Waalse preacher in Dordrecht, related to the van Slingelandt family. He was a correspondent of Descartes and Christiaan Huygens (1629-95),¹⁰¹ and an engraving after his portrait by Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp appears in Balen's Beschryvinge.¹⁰²

Some of the flavour of popular and patrician taste in Dordrecht may be guessed from the activities of other figures: it is reported that Jacob Borstius (1612-72), Jacob de Witt's son-in-law, was so popular as a preacher in the

as cloud formation, candlelight and anatomical dissection and quotes painters' interest in precisely the same things, concluding: "... in recording his observations Beeckman compiles the bits and pieces of a program for Dutch art." S. Alpers: The art of describing (London, 1983), p. 76.

⁹⁹W. Sumowski: op. cit., ii, pp. 1286-386. N. Maclaren: op. cit., pp. 191-5.

¹⁰⁰S. van Hoogstraten: op. cit., pp. 257-73. See also S. Koslow: 'De wonderlyke perspectyfkas: an aspect of 17th-century Dutch painting', Oud-Holland, lxxxii (1967), pp. 35-56 and C. Brusati: The nature and status of pictorial representation in the art and theoretical writings of Samuel van Hoogstraten (diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1984).

¹⁰¹Scientist and son of the Dutch statesman and connoisseur Constantijn Huygens, he first communicated his discoveries concerning the rings of Saturn in a letter to Colvius dated 8 February 1656. Oeuvres complètes, 22 vols (The Hague, 1888-1950), i, p. 380. See also M. Balen: op. cit., p. 225.

¹⁰²M. Balen: ibid., facing p. 224. For discussion of its attribution see Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 154.

1640s that people queued to hear him.¹⁰³ Around the same time Daniël Jonctys (1600-54) published a number of satirical poetic works including Heden-dagse Venus en Minerve (Dordrecht 1641), in which love (Venus) was made to triumph over knowledge (Minerva).¹⁰⁴ In 1662 Dordrechtsche Arcadia was published, written by Lambertus van den Bos (1620/25-c. 1698): a verse fantasy in which major moments in Dordrecht's history are accounted for as consequences of the actions of the gods.¹⁰⁵ Dordrecht was associated with important events and institutions in the political and cultural life of the Netherlands: the Mint of the province of Holland was founded there in 1065. In 1572 the first assembly of the Free States was held under Willem of Orange in the Statenzaal of the Hof, where the Synod of Dordrecht later took place in 1618/19.¹⁰⁶

The land and waters in and around Dordrecht were extensively surveyed and represented in maps, some of these made by

¹⁰³P. Zumthor: Daily life in Rembrandt's Holland (London, 1962), p. 82.

¹⁰⁴A. K. M. Moerman: 'Daniël Jonctys - Dordtse dokter en dichter', Kwartaal en Teken Dordrecht, v/2 (1979), pp. 5-10.

¹⁰⁵The work is subtitled: "Bevattende Ouden en Nieuwe, soo binnen- als buyten-lantsche Geschiedenissen, verschiet van Verhandeligen, Staet en Wys-Kunde, Minnery en Poësy, Vermaeck, Nut, &c." [Concerning the old and the new - both home and foreign history, prospects for trade, politics and learning, romance and poetry, entertainment, value, etc.]

¹⁰⁶C. J. P. Lips: 'De eerste vrije Statenvergadering te Dordrecht', Dordrecht, stad in de ruimte (op. cit.), pp. 61-3. See note 32 above on the Synod and note 53 above on Cuyp's wife's links with Gomarus.

Mattheus van Nispen (c. 1628-1717),¹⁰⁷ a Dordtenaar and qualified surveyor who wrote a treatise on surveying published in Dordrecht in 1669.¹⁰⁸ His son-in-law Abel de Vries and de Vries's son Mattheus were also surveyors. In Cuyp's day the small area of countryside outside the town walls was given over to open land where well-to-do Dordtenaars who wished to escape the pressures, noises and smells of the town built their buitenplaatsen and koepels (summer houses).¹⁰⁹ King Willem III's personal physician wrote:

"... He that would see a kind of paradise in this coutry [sic] must go by Land from Dordt one league towards Breda; and there he will see all the way a coutry so adorned with fine houses and fine gardens and with that variety of trees, planted in good order and on all sides, that he will not know which way to cast his eye

¹⁰⁷M. Donkersloot-de Vrij: Topografische kaarten van Nederland vòòr 1750 (Groningen, 1981). Beknopte lant-meet-konst der Dortse landmeter Mattheus van Nispen, c. 1628-1677 (exh. cat. by P. J. Horsman, Dordrecht, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1978).

¹⁰⁸De beknopte lant-meet-konst; leerende in 't kort, alles wat in 't gemeen, in de practijcke des lant-meters voorkomen kan ... [The concise art of surveying; teaching in brief everything that can occur in general in a surveyor's practice ...]

¹⁰⁹See P. A. F. van Veen: op. cit.; A. Bienfait and M. Kossman: op. cit. and J. D. H. van Harten: 'Stedelijke invloeden op het hollandsche landschap in de 16de, 17de en 18de eeuw', Holland, x/3 (1978), pp. 122-6. The virtues and pleasures of country surroundings were celebrated in Tieleman van Bracht's poem Tuingedachten op den Bloemenhof van A. den Back in zes zangen verdeeld, aan zijn neef Mr Herman van Bracht, heer van Opijnen (Dordrecht, 1754), quoted in P. A. F. van Veen: op. cit., pp. 68-9. See also note 11 above on the van Bracht family and pp. 184 and 190-91 above on hofdichten.

first."¹¹⁰

Several buitenplaatsen were built on Polder Wioldrecht, including Wielhoven by the Beelaerts family, to which the manor of Wioldrecht belonged. By 1744 Wielhoven had come into the possession of Jacob Stoop, whose family had established a farm on the south-west corner of the polder in the 17th century;¹¹¹ Killezigt, another buitenpltaats, was built nearby. The Trip family, famous merchants who came from Dordrecht, had built a country house called Amstelwyck at Wioldrecht in 1661 and owned another nearby property called Wielborg.¹¹² Crabbehof was built in 1646 by Cornelis Roelandszoon Schouw and inherited by the van Slingelandts, descendants by marriage of another of Dordrecht's regent families, the van Beaumonts. Eyckendonck was built in 1687, probably for the de Roovere family, patricians who owned land and controlled important salmon fisheries around Hardinxveld, east of Dordrecht across the Maas. Pieter de Roovere (1602-52) was heer of Hardinxveld and a baljuw of

¹¹⁰W. Harris: A description of the King's royal palace at Loo. Together with a short account of Holland (London, 1699), p. 57.

¹¹¹M. Balen: op. cit., p. 1247-9.

¹¹²Jacob Trip (1575-1661) settled in Dordrecht as a young man. He founded a successful trading business, carried on by two of his sons in Amsterdam. See P. Klein: De Trippen in de 17de eeuw (Assen, 1965). Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp painted portraits of Jacob Trip and Margaretha de Geer (d 1672), one of which, thought to have been completed by Aelbert Cuyp in 1652 after Jacob Gerritszoon's death, is illustrated in Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), nr 20. See also C. Hofstede de Groot: 'De portretten van het echtpaar Jacob Trip en Margaretha de Geer door de Cuyps, N. Maes en Rembrandt', Oud-Holland, xlv (1928), pp. 255-64.

the province of South Holland; his wife was Sophia van Beveren and there is an equestrian portrait of him by Cuyp.¹¹³

Another facet of Dordrecht's economic circumstances that had implications for its culture was the presence of the Merchant Adventurers, aristocratic English traders seeking European markets for English wool and manufactured goods who, since the 16th century, had focused their activities on the major Dutch and German ports.¹¹⁴ The London company of Merchant Adventurers (there were related companies in York, Bristol and Newcastle) set up its official Dutch base first in Middelburg (1587-1621), then Delft (1621-35), Rotterdam (1635-55)¹¹⁵ and finally Dordrecht (1655-1751). Competition was strong between the Dutch towns for the opportunity to

¹¹³HdG 42; The Hague, Mauritshuis; illustrated in Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), nr 25. Reiss omitted this picture. See also De Rembrandt à Vermeer (exh. cat. by B. Broos, Paris, Grand Palais, 1986), nr 18, and p. 263 below.

¹¹⁴C. te Lintum: De Merchant Adventurers in de Nederlanden (The Hague, 1905), p. 208. W. E. Lingelbach: 'Internal organisation of the Merchant Adventurers of England', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, n.s. xvi (1902), pp. 19-67; --: 'Merchant Adventurers of England: their laws and ordinances, with other documents', University of Pennsylvania Translations & Reprints from Original Sources of European History, n.s. ii (1902). The names of such noblemen and persons of honour as have been admitted in Hamburg into the freedom of the fellowship of Merchts Adventrs of England (London, British Library, MS Additional 28074), fols 59-62; a letter from Lord Bute (see p. 11 above) dated 28 July 1761 survives concerning the business of the Merchant Adventurers. W. E. Lingelbach: op. cit. (Pennsylvania, 1902).

¹¹⁵Rotterdam had 11 court members, 36 traders with their families and about 127 others entitled to live at the court in 1648-9; C. te Lintum: op. cit.

host the "English Court", as it was known, because of the economic stimulus this presence brought. Rotterdam was disappointed when Dordrecht persuaded the Merchant Adventurers away in 1655 and tried to tempt them back on more than one occasion. For its part, Dordrecht did much to make the town an attractive centre for the English Court, including digging the Kalkhaven and improving the Dordtse Kil,¹¹⁶ a channel on the western margin of the old town linking the River Maas to the Hollandse Diep, thereby providing a convenient inland short cut for shipping traffic with Zeeland and the southern Netherlands. The earth was turned into a dike that was used in the construction of Polder Wioldrecht (1659).¹¹⁷

The town offices of the English Court were in the Hof, elegant old premises in the centre of Dordrecht, formerly part of an Augustinian monastery. They were allocated the quarters formerly used by the Heelhaaksdoelen for their meeting place and were also given the right to occupy residential properties elsewhere in the town. Another of the Merchant Adventurers' requirements was for a place of worship and a burial place for their dead, and Dordrecht provided the Waalsekapel, the former Wijnkoperskapel in

¹¹⁶C. te Lintum: ibid.

¹¹⁷C. J. P. Lips: op. cit., p. 109; --: op. cit. (Wandeling), p. 52. J. van Dalen: Geschiedenis van Dordrecht, 2 vols (Dordrecht, 1931-3; Schiedam, 2/1987), i, p. 336.

Wijnstraat,¹¹⁸ for this purpose. English was widely spoken and Dutch traders had frequent contact with Britain.¹¹⁹ From 1661 to 1675 there was also a community of Scottish traders in Dordrecht with special rights. They had moved there from Veere, and Sir William Davidson (c. 1610-?1692) held the office of conservator of the "Scottish stapel".¹²⁰

Although there are still many gaps in the reconstruction of Cuyyp's life and times, this biographical sketch and outline of Dordrecht society and culture in Cuyyp's day has tried to provide a context to support the previous discussion of Cuyyp's works and to prepare the ground for a consideration of his posthumous reputation.

¹¹⁸The Wijnkoperskapel, founded in 1325, became the Waalsekapel after the Beeldenstorm (1586-90) and then the IJzerwaag until 1657; M. Balen: op. cit., pp. 193, 194-5; J. van Dalen: op. cit., i, p. 336. See Appendix 4, p. 288, for its possible significance in connection with Richard Farington and the Cuyyps.

¹¹⁹C. J. F. Lips: op. cit. (Wandelingen), pp. 52-3.

¹²⁰M. P. Rooseboom: The Scottish stapel in the Netherlands (The Hague, 1910), pp. 195-237. The naturalist Anthoni van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723) was Davidson's bookkeeper in Amsterdam.

The beginnings are traced here of what may be termed the 'Cuyp tradition'. It has already been seen that Cuyp's initial reception differed from those of artists with whom he is now often compared. For example, when Italianate landscapes with cattle by Both and Asselijn were already attracting higher prices¹ and being acquired towards the end of the 17th century by British and French buyers as well as the Dutch, Cuyp's works had achieved only local recognition and low prices. This is not explained by dismissing Dordrecht as an unimportant centre: it was certainly not a provincial backwater even if it lacked some of the cultural and artistic calibre of Amsterdam or The Hague: its continuing importance for international trade ensured it was an outward-looking society. So it is not obvious why Cuyp's works should have taken that much longer to be noticed by foreign buyers, especially given the presence of the British merchants in Dordrecht. However, local buyers maintained some interest in him, and the Cuyp name remained sufficiently strong to encourage other artists to produce copies and imitations. Some of these works would have been deliberate attempts to deceive, perhaps carrying false Cuyp signatures, others were offered as anonymous pieces 'in the style of' Cuyp.

¹A. Chong: op. cit. (1987), table 3.

It seems there was an initial phase (c. 1670-c.1730) during which individuals who had worked in the Cuyp studio continued to produce the best of these imitations. But perhaps because the following generation (c. 1730-c.1750) lacked personal contact with Cuyp, enthusiasm for his style and subject-matter temporarily waned. A handful of artists nevertheless continued to make copies, using the exercise for the improvement of their technique rather than for taking advantage of the market. From the 1750s, British and French buyers began to take him seriously for the first time,² though the Dutch were slower to recognise this broader appeal and were consequently too late to stop an accelerating outflow of his works from old Dordrecht collections. By the 1770s, however, many Dordrecht artists were ready to champion and emulate Cuyp, as will be described. These origins of the 'Cuyp tradition' in Dordrecht are investigated in some detail, to show the complex antecedents of a reputation that, though eventually remarkable, was rather slow to be established.

One important factor in this is the changing institutional arrangements for the organisation and regulation of artists' work. Although 'professional artist' was not a term used by Dutch 17th-century painters, they clearly wished to elevate their status to distinguish themselves from craft

²See p. 15 above.

practitioners.³ As has been noted, the fine painters broke away (with the coarse painters) from the St Lucasgilde,⁴ which had been until 1642 the single regulatory authority for several related groups of craftsmen.⁵ The old Dordrecht gilde (its full name was 'Sint Lucasgilde of gilde der vijf neringen')⁶ admitted schilders (painters), tinnegieters (pewterers), glasschilders (glass painters), glazenmakers (glaziers), pottenbakkers (potters), blikslagers (tinsmiths), lantarenmakers (lampmakers), leemplakkers (plasterers), goudsmiden (goldsmiths) and schrijnwerkers (cabinetmakers).⁷ The new Confrerie, which still functioned in much the same way as the gilde, felt to the fine painters like a more appropriate body to organise their collective affairs. But it was not until 1696 that they finally achieved fully independent institutional status, with the splitting off of the coarse painters from the Confrerie. By

³H. Miedema: 'Kunstschilders, gilde en academie. Over het probleem van de emancipatie van de kunstschilders in de noordelijke Nederlanden van de 16de en 17de eeuw', Oud-Holland, ci (1987), pp. 1-34.

⁴G. H. Veth: 'Iets over de confrerie van St Lucas en de latere kunstgenootschappen te Dordrecht', Archief voor nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis (op. cit.), vii (1897), pp. 81-110.

⁵B. Haak: op. cit., p. 31. In fact these changes were anticipated by Pieter de Grebber (c. 1600-1652/3), whose attempt to reorganise the St Lucasgilde in Haarlem in 1632 was partly successful. Similar breakaway groups appeared in Utrecht (1644), Hoorn (1651), Amsterdam (1653) and The Hague (1656).

⁶[Guild of St Luke or Guild of the Five Trades]

⁷G. H. Veth: 'Het Sint Lucas-gild te Dordrecht', Archief voor nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis (op. cit.), i (1887-8), pp. 181-220.

then, however, all guild and guild-like arrangements were becoming redundant in the face of the changing style of commercial operations between buyers and sellers of art works. In Dordrecht the gilde and Confrerie ceased to function around the turn of the century. Collective activity among artists there over the next three generations was sporadic, ad hoc and ill-defined: there was a succession of short-lived groupings of artists, amateurs and patrons. Some came together to discuss and contemplate art while others had more practical goals.⁹ Finally, in 1774 Dordrecht's tekengenootschap (drawing society) Pictura was founded. Inspired by Neo-classical ideas about the theory and practice of art, it gave institutional expression for the first time to the culturally elevated, academic status of art that thereafter became a norm.

During this period, artists continued the 17th-century practice of supplementing their income from selling their own works by dealing in the works (both new and old) of others and by training pupils and giving drawing lessons to the gentry and the children of the gentry. The new fashion among well-off patrons was for custom-made behangselschilderijen, suites of paintings made to decorate complete rooms, often with arcadian landscapes, mythological or literary subjects, as an alternative to traditional

⁹Documentary evidence is scarce concerning Dordrecht's art institutions up to the 1770s; the St Lucasgilde and Confrerie records are incomplete, as are those of the various 18th-century groups.

framed easel paintings.⁹ Another, perhaps related, trend was the growing popularity of drawings, watercolours and prints. Collectors accumulated these loose sheets in kunstboeken, portfolios to be leafed through. The subject-matter of these sheets, often depicting landscapes or animals, also reflected a taste for acquiring objects and knowledge of exotic kinds.¹⁰

6.1 CUYP'S FOLLOWERS

The archival sources are inconclusive about the fate of Cuyp's studio and its members once he had ceased active work, or about the possibility of a direct line of followers. Houbraken¹¹ and Weyerman¹² mention Bastiaen van der Leeuw (1624-80) and his sons Govert (1645-88) and Pieter (1647-79) and the van Calraet brothers Abraham (1642-1722) and Barend (1649-1737); as Appendix 7 shows, these painters were active in Dordrecht up to the 1730s. Abraham van Calraet's similar initials and his familiarity with Cuyp's methods and style, acquired through working in the Cuyp

⁹See for example those made for a house in Dordrecht, now in the Dordrechts Museum, described and discussed in Kamerbehangsels door Jacob van Strij (Dordrecht 1756-1815) (typescript, Dordrechts Museum, n.d.); and Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 48.

¹⁰Aart Schouman (1710-1792) (exh. cat. by L. J. Bol, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1960; Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, 1961), pp. 20-23.

¹¹A. Houbraken: op. cit., iii (1721), pp. 179, 181, 292.

¹²J. C. Weyerman: De levensbeschrijvingen der nederlandsche konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen, 4 vols (The Hague, 1729-69), iii (1729), pp. 17-19.

studio, may mean that many of the pictures subsequently attributed to Cuyp could be his. Whether van Calraet in turn operated a studio, and how much if any of his output comprised deliberate Cuyp imitations, is not known. Cuyp originals and copies were certainly included in his family's large (200) collection of pictures.¹³ The question of van Calraet's possible authorship of Cuyp attributions is the subject of a notorious controversy between Hofstede de Groot and Bredius, conducted in the columns of Oude Kunst in 1915.¹⁴

The next Dordrecht painter thought to have a strong connection with Cuyp is Matthijs Balen (1684-1766), grandson of the author of the Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht,¹⁵ on

¹³A. Bredius: Künstler-Inventare; Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts, 7 vols (1915-22), i, pp. 307-17. Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 19, n. 123. See also L. J. Bol: 'Twee herontdekte Dordrechtse meesters, Abraham van Calraet en Abraham Susenier', Goede onbekenden, ii, (Utrecht, 1982), pp. 14-20. A. Bredius: 'The still-life painter, Abraham Calraet', Burlington Magazine, xxx (1917), pp. 172-9. L. J. Bol: Holländische Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts, nahe den grossen Meistern (Braunschweig, 1969), pp. 236-7. J. L. van Dalen: 'De familie van Calraet', Oud-Holland, xlii (1925), pp. 172-5.

¹⁴A. Bredius: 'De stilleven-schilder Abraham (van) Calraet (1642-1722)', Oude Kunst, i (1915/16), pp. 90-91; C. Hofstede de Groot: 'Aelbert Cuyp of Abraham van Kalraet', ibid., pp. 143-5; A. Bredius: 'Aelbert Cuyp of Abraham van Kalraet', ibid., pp. 186-8; C. Hofstede de Groot: 'Aelbert Cuyp of Abraham van Kalraet', ibid., pp. 241-3; A. Bredius: 'Een laatste woord over de Calraet kwestie', ibid., pp. 293-4; C. Hofstede de Groot: 'Aelbert Cuyp of Abraham van Kalraet', ibid., pp. 314; A. Bredius: 'Aelbert Cuyp of Abraham van Kalraet', ibid., pp. 314; 'De Cuyp-Calraet kwestie; slotwoord van de redactie', ibid., p. 386.

¹⁵See p. 227 above.

account of his major collection of Cuyp drawings (80 out of a total of around 200). He was a pupil of Arnold Houbraken and became a landscape and history painter in Dordrecht after spending the years 1705-15 in The Hague.¹⁶ His Cuyp drawings were sold on 23/25 July 1767,¹⁷ the year after his death. J. G. van Gelder suggested the drawings had been acquired from Cuyp's estate by Matthijs Balen sr,¹⁸ but perhaps Balen jr bought them from Arendina Onderwater, Cuyp's daughter. After Balen the next link in the chain is represented by Aert Schouman (1710-92), a key figure in Dordrecht's art life in the middle years of the 18th century, whose activities are therefore considered in some detail below.¹⁹ A watercolour copy dated 1759 by Schouman of a river view of Dordrecht with a landscape and cattle has proved important in identifying the relationship between two pictures by Cuyp,²⁰ suggesting that Schouman was probably a

¹⁶J. van Gool: De nieuwe schouburg der nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderessen, 2 vols (The Hague, 1751), ii, pp. 55-7; G. P. Rouffaer: 'Oude schilderijen te Batavia', Oud-Holland, xii (1894), p. 195, n. 1; P. A. Scheen: Honderd jaren nederlandsche schilder en teekenkunst (The Hague, 1946), p. 22.

¹⁷Lugt 1629.

¹⁸J. G. van Gelder: 'Tekeningen van Aelbert Cuyp', Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 112. Matthijs Balen sr's son Jan (1647-1746) was one of four children of his first marriage, to Martina Savery; Jan was unmarried in 1677 when his father's Beschryvinge was published. J. van Gool: ibid.; M. Balen: op. cit., p. 1357.

¹⁹See pp. 250-57 below.

²⁰J. G. van Gelder and I. Jost: 'Doorzagen op Aelbert Cuyp', Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, xxiii (1972), pp. 223-9. S. Reiss: op. cit., nrs 29-30.

significant figure at that time in the maintenance (or revival) of interest in Cuyp's works.

The generations after Schouman included several artists who not only specialised in landscape and cattle subjects, but who dealt in Old Master pictures and had some familiarity with the Cuyps in Dordrecht collections. Willem van Leen (1753-1825), a flower and miniature painter whose father, Jan van Leen (1724-1806), was a leading art dealer in Dordrecht, benefited from the opportunity to make copies of Old Masters at his father's schilderswinkel. He bought two works attributed to Aelbert Cuyp from the Johan van der Linden van Slingelandt sale.²¹ Arie Lamme (1748-1801) is of great importance to Dordrecht's art life in the last quarter of the 18th century. As a painter he copied Aelbert Cuyp's cattle pictures and as an art dealer he became a keen promoter of Cuyp's works.²² The Lamme schilderswinkel would have been a key focus of interest in and knowledge of Cuyp's works in Dordrecht. He taught his son, Arnoldus (1771-1856), who in turn became an authority on Dutch 17th-century painting in general and Cuyp in particular.²³ A third

²¹Lot 98 (HdG 57) for fl 91 and lot 105 (HdG 726) for fl 166. G. H. Veth: op. cit. (1884), pp. 288, 289. See notes 56 and 83 below.

²²T. J. Geest: 'Ary Lamme en zijn nageslacht, een Dordtse schildersfamilie', Vier historische opstellen (Assen, 1959), p. 18.

²³In 1847 the Rotterdam authorities engaged Arnoldus Lamme to catalogue and value the Boymans bequest from Utrecht. He was assisted by his son, Arie Johannes (1812-1900), who became the first director of the Boymans Museum in 1852.

Dordrecht schilderswinkel, that of the Vermeulens, provided opportunities for Cuyp's works to be seen and studied at first hand. Cornelis Vermeulen (1732-1813) was himself a landscape painter²⁴ and his son Andries (1763-1814) produced drawings after works by Cuyp and was the teacher of the Dordrecht cattle painter Leendert de Koningh (1777-1849).

The van Strij brothers, Abraham and Jacob, are the last and most well known 18th-century Dordrecht artists directly involved with the transmission of taste for Cuyp's cattle pictures; they too are also considered in more detail below.²⁵ Abraham was the driving force in the founding of Pictura and Jacob became a specialist painter of veestukken. His copies and imitations of Cuyp's works mark him out as the leading Dutch late 18th-century revivalist of Cuyp's style, and a major influence on subsequent cattle painting in Dordrecht and the Netherlands. On van Strij's Cuyp copies a contemporary wrote that he was:

"... altijd voorsien van Cuijpen, waarvan ik geloof, den maeker is van Strij, dus er is actueelijck een fabriek van Cuijp...".²⁶

One of his pupils was his cousin Gillis Smak Gregoor (1770-1843), who succeeded him as Dordrecht's leading

²⁴H. Gerson: 'Cornelis Vermeulen (1732-1813)', Oud-Holland, lxix (1954), pp. 247-50.

²⁵See pp. 260-64 below.

²⁶[...always producing Cuyps, which I believe are by van Strij; so there is in fact a Cuyp factory...] From a letter of 18 September 1797, quoted in E. W. Moes and E. van Biema: De nationale kunst-gallerij en het koninklijk museum, Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 1908), p. 185.

painter of cattle pictures.²⁷ Gregoor's close-ups of bulky cattle in landscapes sometimes showing views of Dordrecht in the background have a quite different idealism from that of van Strij, whose deliberate emulation of Cuyp presented a self-consciously refined and nostalgic vision. Both artists' works nevertheless demonstrate that by 1800 in Dordrecht the veestuk and the art of Cuyp were once again well established and successful.

6.2 DORDRECHT ARTISTS

The links these Cuyp followers, and other Dordrecht artists, shared as one another's teachers and pupils have been surveyed in order to identify the individuals who seem to have had a particular interest in cattle and landscape subjects, or whose work and activities could have been relevant in other ways to the path of the Cuyp tradition. In addition to the details presented below, Appendix 7 sets out a fuller chronological sequence of the artists, showing their active years in Dordrecht and their specialties. Appendix 8 contains information on their teachers and pupils.

6.2.1 After Cuyp, 1670-1730

Cuyp's follower Abraham van Calraet married Anna Bisschop, daughter of Cornelis Bisschop (1630-74), a prominent Dordrecht portrait, history and genre painter, active at the

²⁷See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 49.

same time as Cuyp. Bisschop was the son of Anneke van Beveren, and his sons Jacob (b 1658) and Abraham (1670-1731) also became painters.²⁸ He was taught by Ferdinand Bol (1616-80) who, like Aert de Gelder, Jacobus Leveck (1634-75), Nicolaes Maes and Samuel van Hoogstraten, went to Amsterdam from Dordrecht to study under Rembrandt. Bol had been a pupil of Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp before 1632. Godfried Schalcken (1643-1706) first studied in Dordrecht under Samuel van Hoogstraten, as did Aert de Gelder, before going to Leiden where he was a pupil of Gerrit Dou; he returned to Dordrecht in the 1660s, where he painted genre scenes and portraits often featuring artificial light; he achieved great success and an international reputation and after five years in London settled in The Hague. Schalcken's pupil from 1683 to 1689 was Arnold Boonen (1669-1729), also a portrait and genre painter from Dordrecht, who later went to Amsterdam where his pupil Cornelis Troost (1697-1750) became "the most original and interesting eighteenth-century Dutch portraitist and genre painter".²⁹

Jacobus Leveck was a portrait painter and, after studying under Rembrandt, became a member of the Dordrecht Confrerie of St Lucas in 1655. A single remarkable veestuk, signed and

²⁸C. Brière-Mismes: 'Un petit maitre hollandais: Cornelis Bisschop (1630-1674)', Oud-Holland, lxxv (1950), pp. 24-40, 104-16, 139-51, 178-92, 227-40.

²⁹J. Rosenberg, S. Slive and E. H. ter Kuile: op. cit., p. 360. See also J. W. Niemeijer: Cornelis Troost: 1696-1750 (Assen, 1973).

dated 1656,³⁰ shows a stocky brown-and-white cow in side view standing in a dark stall. The profile is close-up, the cow's solid mass and broken colouring present a strong and life-like impression that fills the space. The stall floor is bare and, in the shadow on the left hand side, a broom, bucket and earthenware pot can just be seen.³¹ Leveck died aged 41 (Aelbert Cuyp was then 55); for the last two years of his life he taught Arnold Houbraken, who also studied under Willem van Drielenburg (1632-after 1677) and Samuel van Hoogstraten. Van Drielenburg was born in Utrecht, where he was a pupil of Abraham Elcemaert, and settled in Dordrecht around 1668. He painted Italianate landscapes and was Houbraken's first teacher, in 1672, followed by Leveck and then van Hoogstraten. Van Drielenburg was a friend of Ary Hubertsz Verveer, who owned landscapes by him and by Richard Farington.³²

Although Houbraken's subsequent reputation rests largely on his book De groote schouburgh ..., he was an accomplished painter and etcher, producing portraits and mythological

³⁰Groninger Museum. See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 34.

³¹Hofstede de Groot bought this painting for fl 900 in 1919. (*ibid.*), p. 182.

³²A. Bredius: op. cit. (1915-22), iii (1817), p. 897. See Appendix 4, p. 284.

subjects. He entered the Dordrecht Confrerie in 1678.³³ His two children, Jacob (1698-1780) and Anthonia (1686-1736), were taught by him: Jacob became an engraver whose work includes the plates for John and Paul Knapton's book of Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain.³⁴ Anthonia specialised in portrait drawing; she married Anthonie Elliger (1701-81) who painted histories and behangselschilderijen. Houbraken's other pupils, apart from Matthijs Balen,³⁵ were John Graham and Adriaen van der Burg (1693-1733), who became a portrait painter in Dordrecht. Van der Burg did not live beyond middle age and for the last eight years of his life Aert Schouman (1710-92) was his pupil. Van der Burg's self-portrait in oil was bought from his widow by Schouman, who made a mezzotint after it.³⁶ Another of van der Burg's pupils was Cornelis Greenwood (1708-36) whose father, Frans Greenwood (1680-1763), was a poet and glass painter from Rotterdam who moved to Dordrecht around 1726. According to Jan van Gool (1686-1762), himself a painter of veestukken³⁷ as well as the author of a book of artists' biographies continuing Houbraken's work, Cornelis

³³P. T. A. Swillens: 'Leven en werken van Arnold Houbraken', De groote schouburgh der nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen, A. Houbraken, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1718-21, rev. 1943-53), ii (1945), pp. iii-xl.

³⁴London, 1747. Their prints of Italian Landscapes were referred to on p. 14 above.

³⁵See p. 243 above.

³⁶Dordracum Illustratum, nr 3283.

³⁷For example Koestal (Leiden, Lakenhal). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 44.

Greenwood and Schouman studied glass engraving under Frans Greenwood and also set up a drawing club in Dordrecht in the early 1730s.³⁸ It met in a studio in the St Jorisdoelen in Steegoversloot, where artists and amateurs could draw from a live model, and Frans Greenwood commemorated it in a poem.³⁹ Cornelis Greenwood travelled to Surinam in 1735 and died there a year later, around the time that Schouman founded a new society in Dordrecht. This one, called the St Lucas Broederschap, which lasted until 1747, was more formally constituted and held fortnightly discussions among its membership of mainly patrician amateurs, rather than practical sessions for professional artists. Schouman came into contact with some of the principal local patrons at these gatherings, including Pompe van Meerdervoort, Paulus Gevaerts⁴⁰ and Johan Hallincq (1706-53).⁴¹ Frans Greenwood's name also appears on the membership list for 1743-4.⁴² An

³⁸J. van Gool: op. cit., pp. 346-53; see Schouman's self-portrait together with his portraits of van der Burg and Cornelis Greenwood: ibid., plate H, facing p. 212. See also W. Buckley: Notes on Frans Greenwood and the glasses that he engraved (London, 1930); --: Aert Schouman and the glasses that he engraved (London, 1931); and F. C. A. M. Smit: Frans Greenwood 1680-1763; Dutch poet and glass engraver (Peterborough, 1988).

³⁹G. H. Veth: op. cit. (1897), p. 103.

⁴⁰J. van Gool: op. cit., p. 350. In Schouman's notebook (see note 44 below) the entry for 28 June 1751 reads: "Zeven portretten van den burgemeester Paulus Gevaerts met de lysten ... fl 550." N. de Roever: 'Aert Schouman volgens zijne aantekenboekjes', Oud-Holland, vi (1888), p. 41.

⁴¹Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek (op. cit.), viii, col. 675.

⁴²G. H. Veth: op. cit. (1897), p. 109.

artist with whom Schouman may also have had contact and who moved in court circles was Karel Borchard Voet (1670-1743), painter to Graaf Bentinck (a friend of Willem III).⁴³

6.2.2 Aert Schouman and his generation, 1730-1770

Schouman's notebooks for 1733-48, when he lived and worked in Dordrecht, and for 1748-53, when he divided his time between Dordrecht and The Hague,⁴⁴ reveal that he earned his living by painting portraits (for example Isaac Morjé (1702-69) who owned 97 Steegoversloot⁴⁵ commissioned portraits of himself and his wife, Francina Vriesendorp (1713-58), from Schouman c. 1733);⁴⁶ behangselschilderijen (such as an overdoor, dessus-de-cheminée and two grisailles for Mr Willem Snellen's buitenplaats: fl 250);⁴⁷ biblical and genre pictures (fl 100 for a Flight from Egypt for Cornelis van Lil,⁴⁸ a yarn dealer in Dordrecht);⁴⁹ copying

⁴³Voet married into the Bentinck family. The sale of his collection in Dordrecht on 18 June 1743 contained 283 drawings and prints (Lugt 580).

⁴⁴Memori Boek van mijn Desiepel en die ik heb onderwesen; Kladboek dienende tot het ander dat ik in 's Haage heb van t jaar 1748 (both Dordrecht, Museum van Gijn). See also N. de Roever: op. cit., pp. 33-44.

⁴⁵C. J. P. Lips: op. cit. (Wandeling), p. 519.

⁴⁶L. J. Bol: 'Aart Schouman, 'overkünstig schilder in oly-en waterverw', Tableau, viii/5 (1986), p. 43. See also notes 60 and 67 below.

⁴⁷L. J. Bol: ibid., viii/4 (1986), p. 72.

⁴⁸Lil commissioned many pictures from Schouman including a portrait; the drawing for it survives (1736; Leiden, Prentenkabinet Rijksuniversiteit), showing in the background a self-portrait of Schouman in his studio. L. J. Bol: ibid., viii/4 (1986), fig. 2. The sale of 352 of van Lil's pictures on 18 June 1743 (Lugt 580) included 12 pictures by Adriaen

Old Masters (15 works for Cornelis Floos van Amstel (1726-98)⁵⁰ from the Prince of Orange's collection);⁵¹ designing and decorating objects (e.g. sketches for two plates and a goblet for the Grote Kerk: fl 31-10st; painting a fan for Cornelis de Wit; decorating the dial of a clock).⁵²

Schouman made drawings, watercolours and engravings of topographical views: for members of the Hague branch of the van Slingelandt family, who were also his patrons, he made a

van der Burg, of which a Christ before Pilate was valued at fl 360. G. H. Veth: op. cit. (1888), p. 80.

⁴⁹L. J. Bol: op. cit., viii/4 (1986), p. 71.

⁵⁰Floos van Amstel was a wood dealer and an artist himself in Amsterdam who married Cornelis Troost's daughter and assembled an important collection of prints and drawings, including 6 by Aelbert Cuyp. T. Laurentius, J. W. Niemeijer and G. Floos van Amstel, eds: Cornelis Floos van Amstel, 1726-1798: kunstverzamelaar en prentuitgever (Assen, 1980). See also R. van Eynden and A. van der Willigen: Geschiedenis des vaderlandsche schilderkunst sedert de helft der XVIII eeuw, 4 vols (Haarlem, 1816-40), ii (1817), p. 75; iv (1840), p. 166.

⁵¹"1771 Italiaans landschap met vee, etc. K. Dujardin
1772 Een rijk gemeubileerd vertrek met twee vrouwen, een kind en een wieg, etc. G. Douw
1773 Landschap met verschillende beesten, A. van de Velde
1774 Gezicht op het IJ met verscheidene schepen etc., W. van de Velde
1774 De vlucht naar Egypte, A. van de Werff
1774 Frans van Mieris en zijn vrouw met haar hond op schoot, Frans van Mieris de Dode
1775 Een jongen die bellen blaast, Frans van Mieris d. O.
1775 Zelfportret van Ary de Vois als jager, A. de Vois
1775 Graftombe van Prins Willem I te Delft, Houckgeest
1775 Zo de ouden zongen, piepen de jongen, Jan Steen
1776 Gezicht op Kasteel Middachten door J. van de Velde
1776 Landschap met vee bij een spiegelend meer, P. Potter
1779 Ada, gravin van Holland door H. Holbein
1780 Musicerend gezelschap, C. Netscher." L. J. Bol: op. cit., iii/5 (1986), p. 44, n. 7.

⁵²L. J. Bol: ibid., viii/4 (1986), pp. 71, 72.

series of 32 watercolours (1744) of the country house they had inherited in 1734, restored and rebuilt. The house, Zuydwind, was demolished in 1812, but Schouman's drawings suggest it created a graceful impression with its grounds. He also made 16 watercolours of Patijnenburg, the house and grounds near Naaldwijk owned by Govert van Slingelandt (1694-1767).⁵³ Hundreds of topographical drawings and watercolours of Dordrecht by Schouman survive: views of the town from the Zwijndrecht side of the Maas, townscapes such as the Blyenburg house and the Spuipoort, country views such as that with the house of the Pompe van Meerdervoort family⁵⁴ or the ruin of the Huis te Merwede.⁵⁵ The sale catalogue of the collection of Johan van der Linden van Slingelandt (1701-85) lists "vier stuks differente gezigten ... de buitenplaats Maaswuk, met sapjes getekend door A. Schouman, in vergulde lysten agter glas".⁵⁶ Schouman originally charged fl 40 for the pictures and fl

⁵³Aart Schouman en zijn werk op de buitenplaatsen Zuydwind en Patijnenburg (exh. cat. by M. C. M. Adrichem et al., Naaldwijck, Oud Pastorie, 1985). Patijnenburg was inherited from Simon van Slingelandt (1664-1736), Grand Pensionary of Holland. See also L. J. Bol: *ibid.*, ix/1 (1986), pp. 76-8, figs 38-42. On Govert van Slingelandt's picture collection see C. Bille: Der tempel der kunst of het kabinet van den heer Braamcamp (Amsterdam, 1961), pp. 107-8.

⁵⁴1740; Dordracum Illustratum, nr 2159.

⁵⁵Dordracum Illustratum, nrs 2193-4. See Chapter 4, note 79 above.

⁵⁶Lot 705. The sale was conducted at van Slingelandt's Dordrecht house on the Waale Vest, probably by P. and J. Yver, on 22nd August and 14th October 1785.

10-10st for the frames and glass.⁵⁷ His watercolours of birds and animals were made to stand alone or as book illustrations, and he sometimes reused the subjects in room decorations. He also made portraits and studies of plants and animals ("kopieren van 12 portretten, ses vogelties met waterverff fl 172);⁵⁸ gave drawing lessons (Mr de Witt paid fl 12 for his son's tuition for a quarter)⁵⁹ and bought and sold paintings; for example on 20 September 1737:

"... van de heer Jan Snelle een stukje van Berghem wederom terug gekregen dat ik hem verkogt had voor 135 gulde, en de 21 dito het selve aan den hr van Lil verkogt voor 140 gulde."⁶⁰

Schouman listed in his diary the pictures he owned in 1765: there were 94 including landscapes, animal, marine, genre and history subjects and still-lives.⁶¹ Among the landscapes were works by Paulus Bril, Adam Willaerts, Jacob van Ruysdael, Salomon van Rusydael, Moyses van Wtenbrouck, Jan Griffier, Meindert Hobbema, Jan van Goyen, Pieter de Molijn,

⁵⁷1749; Dordracum Illustratum, nr 2018. Haaswijk, on the Dubbeldamse polder, belonged to Damas van Slingelandt, burgemeester of Dordrecht. In Schouman's notebook the entry for 31 December 1749 reads: "Vier teekeningen van de buitenplaats van burgemeester Damas van Slingeland ... fl 40." N. de Roever: op. cit., p. 40.

⁵⁸L. J. Bol: ibid, viii/4 (1986), p. 71.

⁵⁹L. J. Bol: ibid., p. 71.

⁶⁰[... from Mr Jan Snelle a picture by Berchem, received back again, which I had sold to him for 135 gulden and which I sold to Mr van Lil for 140 gulden on the 21st of the same month.] In comparison Schouman sold two paintings by Cuyp to Isaac Morjé in 1738 for the very modest sum of fl 14. L. J. Bol: ibid., p. 72.

⁶¹L. J. Bol: ibid., viii/5 (1986), p. 39.

Nicolas Berchem, Willem Romeyn, Jan Vermeer van Haarlem, Allard Everdingen, Thomas Wijck, Jacob and Simon van der Does,⁶² Jan and Andries Both, Nicolas Berchem and Jan Baptist Weenix and Berchem together. Other pictures by Dordrecht artists included three by Aert de Gelder, four by Godfried Schalcken and one by Abraham Bisschop.⁶³ The catalogue of the posthumous sale of Schouman's collection on 10 December 1792 lists 265 works, 57 of his own, 23 of his oil copies mainly of Old Masters and 185 works by others, including two by Aelbert Cuyp, three by Adriaen van Ostade, six by Willem van de Velde, two by Jan Steen, three by Philips Wouwerman and works by Joos de Momper, Jan van Goyen, Frans Post, Adam Pijnacker and Jan Hackaert.

From this it seems that, even if some of the attributions would now be considered doubtful, Schouman was regularly able to see a wide range of works by some of the best masters of the 17th century, not only for the purpose of making commissioned copies from pictures in the collections of others, but also in order to buy and sell for his own and his patrons' possession. He sometimes accepted paintings in lieu of cash, for example two small pieces by Herman Saftleven and an oil sketch by Rubens.⁶⁴ In 1748 he joined

⁶²Both painters of landscapes with cattle: Jacob (1627-73) was the father of Simon (1653-c. 1717), who was Jan van Gool's teacher in The Hague.

⁶³L. J. Bol: *ibid.*, viii/5 (1986), p. 39.

⁶⁴L. J. Bol: *ibid.*, viii/4 (1986), pp. 71-2.

Pictura, the painters' society in The Hague, and played a prominent part in it for the rest of his life and donated several works from his collection including glasses engraved by himself.⁶⁵ In 1775 one of his fellow regents of Pictura was the cattle painter Hendrik Willem Schweikhardt who, like Schouman, kept a memori-boeck containing details of commissions. Schweikhardt's included behangselschilderijen in Dordrecht and an Old Master copy for John Boydell in London, where he later settled.⁶⁶

Further light is shed on Dordrecht's art life in the 1730s and 1740s by the activities of Jacob Hoolaart (1713-89), an exact contemporary of Schouman. Hoolaart was an amateur artist (though the surviving records of the Broederschap do not mention him). He lived on Steegoversloot, as did Greenwood, van der Burg and such prominent families as van Someren, van der Kaa, de Witt and Vriesendorp.⁶⁷ His father was a wood dealer and owned a mill on the Noordendijk.⁶⁸ Hoolaart made topographical drawings, several of which were used for plates added to a copy of Matthijs Balen's

⁶⁵He does not seem to have been active with Pictura in Dordrecht, which was founded when he was aged 64, although according to Alleblas et al. he was indeed closely involved. op. cit., p. 307.

⁶⁶E. J. Sluijter: op. cit. (1977). See Chapter 1, note 100.

⁶⁷Jacob van Strij made a set of behangselschilderijen for the Vriesendorp house; Francina Vriesendorp married Schouman's patron Isaac Morjé. See p. 252 and note 60 above.

⁶⁸Possibly 'De Hoop', drawn by A. Schouman. L. J. Bol: op. cit., ix/2 (1986), fig. 49, p. 76.

Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht,⁶⁹ which has 170 additional illustrations including 30 after Hoolaart and Schouman. Other drawings by Hoolaart include one made for Jan van Hoogstraten in 1765 and a series from the Beelaerts collection depicting Dordrecht's town gates and churches.⁷⁰

In Dordrecht Schouman had several pupils, of whom some went on to become specialist landscape and animal painters: Wouter Dam (1726-86), Wouter Uiterlommige (1730-84), Dirk Kuipers (1733-96), Gerrit Malley (1753-1816) and Martinus Schouman (1770-1848), his cousin. Another pupil, Joris Ponce (1723-83), is best known as a teacher of several of the leading figures of the next generation who were active at the turn of the century.⁷¹ Schouman also worked in The Hague and Middelburg and had pupils in both those centres, including Jan van Os (1744-1808), whose son and grandson⁷² both became leading cattle painters and teachers of other landscape and cattle painters in The Hague, notably Anton Mauve (1838-88). Wouter Dam painted birds and animals and a pupil of his was Jan Keldermans (1741-1820), the commissioner of police in Dordrecht, an amateur artist who

⁶⁹Amsterdam University; see pp. 227-8 above.

⁷⁰ A mezzotint after a work by Adriaen van der Burg is in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. P. J. Horsman: Jacob Hoolaart (1713-1789); oeuvre-catalogus (Dordrecht, 1975).

⁷¹Ponce's collection, probably sold in Dordrecht in December 1783, included around 800 prints and drawings (Lugt 3657).

⁷²Pieter Gerardus van Os (1776-1839); Pieter Frederik van Os (1808-92).

in turn taught Abraham Teerlink (1776-1857), a painter of Italianate landscapes who went to Rome after also studying under Michiel Versteegh (1756-1843). Dirk Kuipers studied under Joris Ponse and Schouman and painted behangselschilderijen and produced landscape drawings. Johan Hendrik Boshamer (1776-1862), Pieter Fontijn (1744-1839) and Michiel Versteegh all copied old masters at Jan van Leen's schilderswinkel. Gerrit Malleyne painted horses and landscapes and Martinus Schouman specialised in marine subjects, influenced by Willem van de Velde. Joris Ponse's pupils included Pieter Hofman (1755-1837), Abraham van Strij, Jan Arends (1738-1805), Michiel Versteegh and Johannes Christiaan Bendorp (1766-1849) as well as Willem van Leen, Arie Lamme and Dirk Kuipers. Hofman painted landscapes and still-lives;⁷² Arends drew topographical country views and river scenes. Versteegh painted domestic interiors and landscapes.⁷³

Cornelia Lamme (1769-1839), daughter of Arie Lamme,⁷⁴ painted miniature portraits; in 1794 she married Johan Bernard Scheffer (1765-1809), a German painter and pupil of Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein (1751-1829); he came to

⁷²J. Erkelens: 'Pieter Hofman 1755-1837', Kwartaal en Teken Dordrecht xiii/1 (1987), pp. 15-17.

⁷³Sir John Murray, the Scottish tourist, visited Dordrecht in 1819 and observed that: "Amongst some old pictures which [Versteegh] possessed I distinguished some cocks and hens, richly coloured by Cuyp." J. Murray: op. cit., p. 24.

⁷⁴See p. 245 above.

the Netherlands in the 1780s and was for a time court painter to Louis-Napoleon at The Hague.⁷⁵ One of their three sons, Ary Scheffer (1795-1858), was active in Paris and became a renowned painter in a Romantic style.⁷⁶

6.2.3 Abraham and Jacob van Strij, from 1770

The van Strij brothers each chose 17th-century masters as models: Cuyp and Potter for Jacob, Gabriel Metsu (1629-67) and Pieter de Hooch (1629-after 1684) for Abraham.⁷⁷ Their father, Leendert, ran a schilderswinkel and was himself both painter and dealer as well as his sons' first teacher;⁷⁸ thereafter Abraham studied under Joris Ponse in Dordrecht and both brothers went to the Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp in the early 1770s, Jacob studying under Andries Cornelis Lens (1739-1822), the leading figures of the Neo-classical movement there.

By 1774 Abraham, no doubt influenced by Lens, had decided to

⁷⁵T. J. Geest: op. cit., p. 25.

⁷⁶Mrs [H.] Grote: Memoir of the life of Ary Scheffer (London, 1860); Ary Scheffer, tekeningen, aquarellen en olieverfschetsen (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1979-80; Paris, Institut Néerlandais, 1980). L. Ewals: Ary Scheffer: sa vie et son oeuvre (diss., Nijmegen, 1987)

⁷⁷150 jaar Dordtse tekenkunst, 1700-1850 (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1984), p. 5. See also De gebroeders van Strij (exh. cat. by L. J. Bol, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1956) and J. Erkelens: 'The brothers Abraham and Jacob van Strij: a biography of two Dordrecht painters', Oud-Holland, xc (1976), pp. 186-200.

⁷⁸Their mother, Catherina Smak, was Gillis Smak Gregoor's aunt.

found an academy for artists in Dordrecht and, with Reinier Goudsbergen (1746-1814), the van Strijs' brother-in-law Willem van der Koogh (1755-1824) and Pieter Hofman, he called the first meeting of Pictura in October of that year. The society, still in existence, has a well-documented history⁷⁹ and its records reveal many details of the practice of art and the exercise of taste in the late 18th century and thereafter, information that is much scarcer for the preceding hundred years. Pictura (like its counterparts in other Dutch centres)⁸⁰ introduced formal courses of theoretical instruction; under van Strij's influence, drawing from live and plaster models was instituted, as was an annual prize for drawing and the creation of a department of architecture. Pictura moved into its own premises on Nieuwstraat in June 1796 and held its first exhibition there in November 1797.⁸¹ Through Pictura, van Strij helped to create an academic institution for the training of local artists; at the same time its existence declared in a public way the sort of status the artists felt entitled to. Abraham

⁷⁹Its 200th anniversary was celebrated in Dordrecht with a special exhibition: Tweehonderd jaar Pictura (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1975). See also P. F. A. Vrolijk: Inventaris van het archief van het tekenengenootschap 'Pictura' 1774-1968 (Dordrecht, 1973). J. Alleblas et al., eds: '800 jaar Dordrecht, de Dortenaren en hun kunst', Ach lieve tijd, xiii (Zwolle, 1986), pp. 299-320. Was getekend Dordrecht: stad en omgeving vereeuwigd door leden van Pictura, 1780-1960 (exh. cat. by J. Alleblas, B. Jintes and P. Schotel, Dordrecht, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1988).

⁸⁰The Amsterdam society Felix Meritis, for example, was founded in 1777.

⁸¹P. F. A. Vrolijk: op. cit., p. II; J. L. van Dalen: op. cit., ii, p. 837.

married Sophia Catherina Vermeulen in 1783 and they lived on Voorstraat, where his brother Jacob, who had married Magdalene Cornelia van Rijndorp from Nijmegen, also had a house. They took over their father's schilderswinkel, training pupils and dealing in pictures as well as undertaking commissions for easel paintings and behangselschilderijen. Johannes van Lexmond (1769-1838), one of their pupils, copied works by Cuyp and other 17th-century masters and made views of Dordrecht.⁸²

Jacob van Strij's knowledge of Cuyp's pictures of cattle must have come from first-hand observations, mainly in Dordrecht collections. The largest single group was the 38 owned by Johan van der Linden van Slingelandt (sold in 1785 when Jacob was 29).⁸³ The collection of Jan Rombouts (1733-1805) would have been another important source: Rombouts was an amateur painter who made oil and watercolour copies of 17th-century masters. His collection passed via his son Johannes (d 1850) to his grandson Leendert Dupper

⁸²A painting by Abraham van Strij known as The banker (Philadelphia, Museum of Art) shows a seated figure in an interior with a framed landscape painting on the back wall in the centre. Sutton has commented: "Closely resembling but not identical to a painting by Aelbert Cuyp in the National Gallery, London [see N. Maclaren: op. cit., nr 2547], the painting within a painting here is not so much the clavis interpretandi as the connoisseur's ultimate challenge: is it van Strij or Cuyp?" P. C. Sutton: Dutch art in America (Grand Rapids, 1986), p. 231.

⁸³Several are not now considered authentic and, from the prices (ranging from fl 13 for HdG 682 to fl 2650 for R 135), may well have been doubted at the time. See S. Reiss: op. cit., p. 212 and W. Hutton: 'Aelbert Cuyp: The riding lesson', Toledo Museum News, (Autumn, 1961), pp. 79-81.

Wz. (1799-1870), a wealthy sugar refiner, collector in his own right and connoisseur living in Dordrecht, who bequeathed the collection to the State⁸⁴ and left fl 2000 in debentures to Pictura.⁸⁵ Van Strij copied Cuyp's equestrian portrait of Pieter de Roovere (The Hague, Mauritshuis)⁸⁶ and the original was bought in 1820 by the Mauritshuis from O. Repelaer van Driel's collection in Dordrecht.⁸⁷ He was a descendant of Anthonis Repelaer and his wife, Emerentia van Driel,⁸⁸ both of whose portraits were painted by Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp in 1647.⁸⁹ Anthonis Repelaer (1591-1652) was a brewer and served as Dordrecht's burgemeester and as a

⁸⁴It forms the Dupper collection of 64 paintings bequeathed on 12 April 1862, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. See P. J. Thiel et al.: All the paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 1976), p. 22 and L. J. Bol: 'Schilderijen van het legaat L. Dupper Wz. (1870) aan het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam', Zeventiende eeuwse meesters uit de collectie Leendert Dupper Wz. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (exh. cat. by L. J. Bol, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1949-50), pp. 3-4.

⁸⁵Tweehonderd jaar Pictura (op. cit.), p. 14.

⁸⁶For Jacob van Strij's copy see Op zoek naar de gouden eeuw; nederlandse schilderkunst, 1800-1850 (exh. cat. by L. van Tilborgh and G. Jansen, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum, 1986), fig. 1. Van Strij's Landscape with cattle (New York, Metropolitan Museum) has the identical background scene. See ibid., fig. 3. See also pp. 234-5 above.

⁸⁷The inventory of de Roovere's widow's estate after her death in 1682 listed a large collection of pictures, including 18 by Abraham Susenier (c. 1620-after 1667), the Dordrecht still-life and marine painter, some of which were in their son Pieter's estate in 1723. G. H. Veth: op. cit. (1894), pp. 110-11.

⁸⁸P. F. A. Vrolijk: Inventaris van het familiearchief Repelaer (Dordrecht, 1974).

⁸⁹Puttershoek, private collection. See Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), nr 7; and Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste.

director of the Oostindische en Westindische Compagnie there.⁹⁰ The sale of Jacob van Strij's pictures at Dordrecht on 24 April 1816, together with the collection of Pieter van den Santheuvel and his wife, Maria Adriaena Gevaerts, comprised 143 paintings, 163 drawings and 2 prints, including at least 4 works attributed to Cuyp.⁹¹ Van den Santheuvel, burgemeester of Dordrecht, had died in 1792, bequeathing fl 2,500 to Pictura, out of which an annual prize and medal for the best drawing was established.⁹²

6.9 CUYP'S POSTHUMOUS REPUTATION

The evidence of the above survey suggests that by the end of the 18th century, the art life of Dordrecht had become vigorous once again, able to support a variety of requirements and tastes. Watercolours, topographical drawings and prints of animal and landscape subjects were in demand, as were behangselschilderijen and easel paintings. Dordrecht collectors seem to have conserved some of their inherited 17th-century acquisitions and, through dealers, to have bought further Old Masters and commissioned copies: particularly landscapes and interiors. Interestingly, whereas idealised arcadian subjects and portraits and still-lives found great favour, bible scenes and histories were not common. Koolhaas-Grosfeld has commented:

"De stijl van Rembrandt of Frans Hals vond

⁹⁰Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 36.

⁹¹HdG 59aa, 521cc, 569f and 654c. Lugt 8873.

⁹²P. J. Vrolijk: op. cit. (1974), p. II. See p. 261 above.

geen navolging en ook bijbelse en mythologische figuurstukken werden niet geïmiteerd. In dit verband is het typerend dat Abraham van Strij in zijn imitatie van Aert de Gelders bijbelse historiestuk de oudtestamentische vorst Belsazar heeft veranderd in een dronkenlap in eigentijds kostuum: een historiestuk werd zo de basis voor een genretaferaal." ⁹³

There may well be some validity in the assertion that 18th-century Dutch art, judged from the distance of the 20th century, falls short of the technical and imaginative innovations attained in the 17th century.⁹⁴ This does not, however, account for the factors that were responsible for energising Dutch 18th-century art; nor does it indicate how the legacy of the 'golden age' was perceived and responded to. Despite the Republic's relative loss of prestige on the international economic and political stages during the 18th century, interest in art did not suddenly disintegrate. Artistic production continued to find markets, and artists such as van der Burg, Schouman and their pupils made a reasonable living. There is no evidence that their social status altered significantly for the worse or that art

⁹³[The style of Rembrandt or Frans Hals found no followers and also biblical and mythological figure subjects were not imitated. In this connection it is typical that Abraham van Strij in his imitation of Aert de Gelder's history painting changed the Old Testament monarch Belshazzar into a drunkard in present-day clothes: a history painting was thus the basis for a genre subject.] E. Koolhaas-Grosfeld: 'De herontdekking van de 17de-eeuwse Hollandse schilderkunst', Op zoek naar de gouden eeuw; nederlandse schilderkunst, 1800-1850 (op. cit.), p. 30. See also p. 214 above for the possibility that Benjamin Gerritszoon Cuyp may have anticipated this trend.

⁹⁴J. Rosenberg, S. Slive and E. H. ter Kuile: op. cit., p. 349.

became marginalised. The fundamental new influence on Dutch 18th-century art, already in evidence before the turn of the century, was the taste of the French court.⁹⁵ In relation to landscape painting, no specific critical analysis of these matters has been undertaken. De Leeuw has commented:

"... the brilliance of Dutch landscape painting had faded in the early eighteenth century. This has never been satisfactorily explained, but the fact remains that only a handful of Italianate painters struggled on beyond the end of the seventeenth century, after which decorative wall hangings were the only remaining form of landscape painting. It was only at the end of the eighteenth century that the Dutch came to reassess their cultural heritage, and the revival of Dutch art began."⁹⁶

It has been argued in this study that, concerning Cuyp's veestukken and other pictures with cattle, the outside world was not being represented in a neutrally descriptive way. The images offered interpretations of selected features, presenting life-like yet substantially invented compositions for contemplation and enjoyment. As has been suggested, the actuality of everyday rural life in the environs of Dordrecht around the middle of the 17th century was probably very different from Cuyp's restful scenes: land reclamation

⁹⁵ibid., p. 349. See also G. Verwey: op. cit., pp. 605-7.

⁹⁶R. de Leeuw: 'Towards a new landscape art', The Hague school: Dutch masters of the 19th century (exh. cat. by R. de Leeuw, J. Sillevius and C. Dumas, Paris, Grand Palais; The Hague, Gemeentemuseum; London, Royal Academy, 1983), p. 52. See however E. Koolhaas-Grosfeld: 'Nationale versus goede smaak. Bevordering van nationale kunst in Nederland: 1740-1840', Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, xcv (1982), pp. 605-36; --: 'De negentiende eeuw en de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst, als een vraagstuk van ouden en modernen. I', De negentiende eeuw, ix (1985), pp. 145-70.

projects, earthworks for new canals and intensive agricultural production would have given strong indications of man's intervention in and disruption of the rural calm. The pictures offered an antidote to actuality and at the same time re-created the idea of the natural environment in terms of those prevailing spiritual and moralising notions that have been called cultural imperatives. Such pictures would have acquired an additionally old-fashioned feel and nostalgic character in the eyes of 18th-century observers, not only because the depicted countryside and the human figures looked different from the new actuality but because of dramatic changes in the fortunes of cattle husbandry.

In Cuyp's day stock rearing and dairying were the principal rural activities in much of the coastal provinces and, even if the immediate environs of Dordrecht were devoted principally to arable use, Dordtenaars would have seen grazing cattle whenever they travelled out of town. However, in the 18th century a succession of epidemics of runderpest profoundly affected the health and size of the herds.⁹⁷ The countryside, far from offering town dwellers the image of a dependable haven of perfect rest and calm, became an ugly, blighted place. The sight of sick and dying cattle was common; farmers whose livelihood depended on their cattle faced poverty and bankruptcy. The milk cow, a once proud icon of Dutch nationhood and economic independence, now

⁹⁷See p. 105 above.

accompanied the collapse of the Republic's self-confidence and the failure of its spirit. Cuyp's pictures of cattle would have struck a poignant note among 18th-century Dordtenaars dismayed by the loss of national focus and puzzled by the changes that had flowed since the great days of the 'golden age'. Those who were old enough to remember at first hand how things were, and those who only knew through their fathers' and grandfathers' talk, may have turned to Cuyp's veestukken in the hope of finding relief from the rural crisis. His sturdy, well-fed, placid cattle enjoying full health, the obvious producers of abundant milk and wholesome beef, were a far safer and more reassuring object of contemplation than the sickly, tottering invalids outside in the ever-diminishing herds, struggling against the assaults of runderpest, or the piles of ugly carcasses heaped up waiting to be burnt. The smooth, clean cattle of Cuyp's pictures, their monumental pure reds, browns, greys and whites, which had been relatively uncommon in 17th century actuality, became even more unusual after the plague years, as imports of small red and pied black-and-white stock were bought in from Germany and Denmark to replace the lost animals. In copying and imitating Cuyp's cattle, his 18th-century followers were aiming to reach back to a past that Cuyp had so persuasively created.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Piero di Cosimo: Forest fire (c. 1505; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum). See C. Lloyd: Piero di Cosimo's Forest fire (Oxford, 1984).

2. Lucas van Leyden: The milkmaid (1510; Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet). See The prints of Lucas van Leyden and his contemporaries (exh. cat. by E. S. Jacobowitz and S. L. Stepanek, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1983), nr 26.

3. Niccolò Boldrini after Titian: Landscape with milkmaid and youth sowing, woodcut (c. 1540; Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art). See H. E. Wethey: Titian and his drawings (Princeton, 1987), nr X-20, figs 91-2.

4. Pieter Aertsen: Adoration of the shepherds (c. 1559; Amsterdam, Historisch Museum). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 2.

5. Pieter Bruegel: The return of the herd (1565; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). See R. Marijnissen: Bruegel: het volledig oeuvre (Antwerp, 1988), pp. 260, 261 (detail), 264 (detail).

6. Roelandt Savery: Stalinterieur (1615; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 5.

7. Lascaux cave paintings (c. 15,000 BC). See E. H. Gombrich: op. cit., figs 19 and 21; B. L. Myers and T. Copplestone: The Macmillan encyclopaedia of art (London, 1977), p. 53.

8. Head of cow, alabaster, Egyptian, 18th dynasty, Deir el-Bahri (c. 1500 BC; London, British Museum, EA 42179). See J. Rawson, ed.: op. cit., fig. 74. Head of Hathor with Pharaoh Psammetichus I, greywacke, Egyptian, (Cairo, Cairo Museum). See K. Clark: op. cit., fig. 14.

9. Apis, Egyptian, 26th dynasty (c. 600 BC; London, British Museum, EA 37448). See J. Rawson, ed.: op. cit., fig. 77.

10. Vaphio cup, gold, Minoan (c. 1500 BC; Athens, National Museum). See K. Clark: op. cit., fig. 19.

11. Bull, Babylonian, colour-glazed brick relief from Ishtar Gate, (c. 580 BC; E. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum). See K. Clark: op. cit., fig. 22.

12.Bull, seal, Mohenjo Daro, W. Pakistan (c. 2500 BC). See F. E. Zeuner: op. cit., fig. 8.35, p. 237.

13.Sacrifice of cow, brass plaque, Benin, Nigeria, (early 17th century; London, British Museum, Ethno 1913.12-11.11). See J. Rawson, ed.: op. cit., fig. 62.

14.Ploughing scene, China, Sung dynasty (10th-11th century). See F. E. Zeuner: op. cit., fig. 8.34, p. 237.

15.Barent Fabritius (d 1662): Mercury and Argo (Kassel, Gemäldegalerie). See E. J. Sluijter: De 'heydensche fabulen' in de noordnederlandse schilderkunst circa 1590-1670 (Leiden, 1986), fig. 145. Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665): Landscape with Juno, Argus and Io (E. Berlin, Staatliche Museen). See A. Blunt: Nicolas Poussin (London, 1967), ii, figs 97, 99. Ferdinand Bol (1616-80): Mercury and Argus (Potsdam, Neues Palais). See E. J. Sluijter: op. cit., fig. 147. Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678): Mercury and Argus (c. 1646; Belgium private collection). See R. A. d'Hulst: Jacob Jordaens (London, 1982), fig. 188. Hendrick ten Dever (1636-1716): Mercury and Argo guard Io (Netherlands private collection). See Hendrick ten Dever, een vergeten Overijssels meester uit de zeventiende eeuw (exh. cat. by J. Verbeek and J. W. Schotman, Zwolle, Provinciaal Overijssels Museum, 1957), nr 85. Claes Moeyaert (1591-1655): Mercury and Argo (Milwaukee, A. Bader private collection). See E. J. Sluijter: op. cit., fig. 115. See also A. Pigler: op. cit., ii, pp. 129-30, 136, 166-7.

16.Berlin Painter: The rape of Europa, red-figure bell krater, Greek (c. 490 BC, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale). See K. Clark: op. cit., fig. 21. Hendrick ten Dever (1639-1718): The rape of Europa (Netherlands private collection). See Hendrick ten Dever, een vergeten Overijssels meester uit de zeventiende eeuw (op. cit.), nr 86. See also A. Pigler: op. cit., ii, pp. 78-83.

17.Joos de Momper (1564-1635): Hercules stealing Geryon's cattle (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See P. J. J. Thiel et al.: All the paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 1976), nr A 3894. See also A. Pigler: op. cit., ii, pp. 104, 108, 204, 226-7.

18.The fiery bulls of the kingdom of Colchis from Raoul le Fèvre: Histoire de Jason (15th century; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 119). See The animal kingdom (op. cit.), nr 61. See also A. Pigler: op. cit., ii, p. 129.

19.Roelandt Savery: Orpheus enchanting the animals (Utrecht, Centraal Museum). See Roelant Savery in seiner Zeit (1576-1639) (op. cit.), nr 65. Paulus Potter: Orpheus charming the beasts (1650; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See P. J. J. van Thiel et al.: op. cit., nr A 317. See also A. Pigler: op. cit., ii, pp. 186-9.

20. Mithras sacrificing a white bull, marble, Roman (2nd century AD; Rome, Museo Capitolino). See K. Clark: op. cit., fig. 20.

21. Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528): Adam and Eve, engraving (1504). See E. H. Gombrich: The story of art (London, 14/1984), fig. 220.

22. Jacob Savery (c. 1565-1603): Paradise (1601; private collection). See Roelant Savery in seiner Zeit (1576-1639) (op. cit.), nr 94; Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Breughel (1568-1625): Earthly Paradise (The Hague, Mauritshuis). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), fig. 85. Adam naming the animals, ivory carving, wing of diptych (4th century; Florence, Museo Nazionale). See K. Clark: op. cit., fig. 4.

23. Jacopo Bassano (1510/18-92): The animals entering the ark (Royal Collection, H. M. Queen Mother) See K. Clark: op. cit., fig. 3. Noah with the ox he is to sacrifice, onyx cameo, Sicily or S. Italy (1204-50; London, British Museum, MLA 90.9-1.15). See J. Rawson, ed.: op. cit., fig. 128. See also A. Pigler: op. cit., i, pp. 20-24.

24. See A. Pigler: op. cit., i, pp. 84-5.

25. Piero di Cosimo: Adoration of the Child, tondo (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art). See N. Bacci: L'opera completa di Piero di Cosimo (Milan, 1976), fig. lviii (detail). Titian: Adoration of the shepherds (1532-2; Florence, Pitti). See H. Wethey: The paintings of Titian (London, 1969), nr 79. Jacopo Bassano: Adoration of the shepherds (c. 1570; Hampton Court, Royal Collection). See R. Palluchini: Bassano (Bologna, 1982), fig. 13. Joachim Wtewael (1566-1637/8): Annunciation to the shepherds (c. 1599-1603; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See A. W. Lowenthal: Joachim Wtewael (Doornspijk, 1986), fig. 11. Jan Steen: Adoration of the shepherds (c. 1659; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See Gods, saints and heroes: Dutch painting in the age of Rembrandt (op. cit.), nr 81.

26. Bull of St Luke, Book of Kells (late 8th-early 9th century; Dublin, Trinity College), f. 27v. See K. Clark: op. cit., fig.

27. St Luke, ivory plaque (11th century; Cologne). See Warburg Institute photographic collection. Giovanni Pisano (1245/50-after 1314): Bull of St Luke, marble (1285-95; Siena, Cathedral façade). See K. Clark: op. cit., fig. 28. Donatello (c. 1386-1466): Winged ox, altarpiece. See J. C. J. Metford: Dictionary of Christian lore and legend (London, 1983), p. 189. Joachim Wtewael: St Luke (1616; Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie). See A. W. Lowenthal: op. cit., fig. xix. Jacques de Gheyn III (1596-1644): St Luke (c. 1630-35; The Hague, Gemeente Museum). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), fig. 90. Hendrik ter Brugghen (1588-1629): St Luke (1621; Deventer, Town Hall). See Warburg Institute photographic collection.

27. See A. Pigler: op. cit., i, pp. 210-11.

28. The four evangelists, Aachen gospels (early 9th century; Aachen, Cathedral Treasury), f. 13r. See D. Pearsall and E. Salter: Landscapes and seasons of the medieval world (London, 1973), fig. 1. Emblems of the four evangelists, Iraqi miniature from Zakariyya Qazwini: The wonders of creation (1281; London, British Museum, OA 1948.12-11.03). See J. Rawson, ed.: op. cit., fig. 87.

29. Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400-1464): St Luke painting the virgin (c. 1440; Leningrad, Hermitage). Jan Gossart (d 1533): St Luke painting the virgin (1520; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574): St Luke painting the virgin (1532; Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum). See Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: noordnederlandse kunst, 1525-1580 (exh. cat., ed. J. P. Filedt Kok, W. Halsema-Kubes and W. T. Kloek, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1986), fig 3a, nrs 3, 70. See also A. Pigler: op. cit., i, pp. 443-5.

30. Frederik Bloemaert (c. 1610-after 1669) after Abraham Bloemaert (1564-1651): Title print to Oorspronkelyk en vermaard konstryk tekenboek van Abraham Bloemaert, geestryk getekent, en meesterlyk gegraveert by zyn zoon Frederik Bloemaert ... (Amsterdam, 1711), part viii, nr 153. See Meesterlyk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), fig. 64.

31. Albrecht Dürer: Map of the northern sky, woodcut (1515; Nuremberg). See W. L. Strauss, ed: The Illustrated Bartsch (New York, 1978-), x, nr 151.

32. Bos and Taurus, Latin bestiary (early 13th century, London, British Museum, Harley MS 3244), f. 47a. See J. Rawson, ed.: op. cit., fig. 169.

33. Reinier van Persijn after Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp: Diversia animalia quadrupedia ad vivum delineata a Iacopo Cupio (Antwerp, 1641; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See Hollstein, v, 1-13.

34. Boetius à Bolswert (1580-1633) after Abraham Bloemaert: Landscapes (1611). See Hollstein, iii, 324-37.

35. April, flower picking with Taurus, Queen Mary's Psalter (early 14th century; London, British Museum, MS Royal 2B VII), f. 165v. See D. Pearsall and E. Salter: op. cit., fig. 42f. Limburg Brothers: 'March', Très riches heures (1411-16; Chantilly, Musée Condé). See P. C. M. Hoppenbrouwers: 'Een moeilijk begin in de landbouw: prehistorie en middeleeuwen', Agrarische geschiedenis van Nederland van prehistorie tot heden, (op. cit.), p. 14.

36. Luttrell Psalter (c. 1335-40; London, British Museum, Add. MS. 42130), f. 170. See A. Fokkinga: op. cit., p. 158.

37. Pieter Aertsen: See [4] above. Jacob Grimmer (1525-90): Seasons (1575; Budapest, Szépművészeti Museum). See B. Haak: op. cit., fig. 276. Jan van Goyen (1596-1656): Summer and Winter (both 1625; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See B. Haak: ibid., figs 472, 473.
38. Jan van de Velde after Willem Buytewech: Terra, etching (1622; Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), fig. 71.
39. Willem Buytewech: De rechtspraak van Graaf Willem III de Goede (1618; Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet). See Willem Buytewech, 1591-1624 (op. cit.), nrs 10-19.
40. J. van de Velde: The white cow (1622; London, British Museum). See Dutch landscape: the early years (op. cit.), nr 72. See also D. Freedberg: op. cit., p. 35.
41. J. Jonston: op. cit. (1660).
42. Jacobus Sibrandi Mancadan: Cattle bathing (The Hague, DRVK). See L. J. Bol: op. cit. (1969), fig. 186.
43. Het melkkoetje (c. 1585; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), fig. 1.
44. G. Braun and F. Hogenberg: 'Dordrecht', Civitatis orbis terrarum, (Cologne, 1573-1618), Urbium praecipuarum totius mundi liber tertius (1588), nr 28.
45. Master of the St Elisabeth Panels: Dordrecht (c. 1500; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See Figs I and J, and also P. J. J. van Thiel et al: op. cit., nrs 3147a, 3147b.
46. Adam Willaerts: View of Dordrecht (1629; Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum). See P. Horsman: 'Het gezicht op Dordrecht van Adam Willaert' [sic], Kwartaal en Teken Dordrecht, iii/2 (1977), pp. 13-19.
47. Hendrik Vroom: View of Delft (1615; Delft, Het Prinsenhof). See B. Haak: op. cit., fig. 330.
48. View of Zwolle (c. 1600; Zwolle, Provinciaal Overijssels Museum). See Opkomst en bloei van het noordnederlandse stadsgezicht in de 17de eeuw (exh. cat., Amsterdam, Historisch Museum; Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, 1978), nr 30.
49. Polder landscape near Enkhuizen (c. 1600; Enkhuizen, Stadhuis). See B. Haak: op. cit., fig. 285.
50. Hendrik Hondius: Cows in a pasture and in the water, etching (1644; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See Hollstein, ix, 12.
51. Gerard ter Borch: Stalinterieur (c. 1652-4; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum). See Gerard ter Borch (op. cit.), nr 18.

52. Cornelius and Herman Saftleven: Landscape with cattle (c. 1660; Netherlands private collection). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 15.
53. Salomon van Ruysdael: River scene with ferry (1649; England private collection). See Dutch landscape: the early years (op. cit.), nr 58.
54. Salomon van Ruysdael: View of Rhenen (1648; London, National Gallery). See Dutch landscape: the early years (op. cit.), nr 57.
55. Jan van der Heyden and Adriaen van de Velde: Town view with ox and dog (Detroit, Institute of Arts). See L. de Vries: Jan van der Heyden (Amsterdam, 1984), fig. 13.
56. Paulus Potter: see Hollstein 1-8, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20. See also Gerard ter Borch: [51] above.
57. Dirck van den Berghen (1640-c. 1690): Mating bull (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), fig. 13. Jan Wijnants: Landscape with cattle (1661; London, Wallace Collection). See C. Wright: The Dutch painters: 100 seventeenth century masters (London, 1978), p. 223.
58. Paulus Potter: Pissende koe (1649; Leningrad, Hermitage). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), fig. 82. Roelandt Savery: see [6] above. Hendrick ten Oever: View of Zwolle (Scotland private collection). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 35.
59. Pieter Aertsen: see [4] above. Abraham Bloemaert: see [30] above. Jacques de Gheyn II (1565-1629): Portrait of a cow (c. 1626-9; Amsterdam, private collection). See I. Q. van Regteren Altena: op. cit., iii, pls 25-6. Nicolaes Berchem: Portrait of a cow (1650; England private collection). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 17, and ibid., p. 143, note 1 for three versions by Jan Asselijn.
60. Rembrandt: The slaughtered ox (1655; Paris, Louvre). See J. Foucart: Les peintures de Rembrandt du Louvre (Paris, 1982), pp. 66-71. P. Aertsen: The meat stall (1551; Uppsala, University). See K. M. Craig: op. cit., p. 2. Jan Victors (1620-c. 1676): The slaughtered ox (1647; private collection). See B. Haak: op. cit., fig. 164.
61. Jan Steen (1625/6-79): The drawing lesson (c. 1663; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), fig. 24.
62. Nicolaes Berchem: Mountainous landscape with herders gathering wood (c. 1665-75; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum).
 Anthonie van Borssum (1629/30-1677): Panorama near Schenckenschans (1666; Düsseldorf, Staatliche

Kunstsammlungen). See Masters of Dutch 17th-century landscape painting (op. cit.), nrs 10 and 255.

63. Gerard ter Borch: see [51] above. Cornelis and Herman Saftleven: Landscape with milkmaid (Van Haften, London). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), fig. 107.

64. Karel Dujardin: Shepherdess talking to her dog, etching (1653). Claes Moyaert: Shepherd with cattle, etching (1638). See I. de Groot: op. cit., nrs 170, 89.

65. Paulus Potter: The Farm (1649; Leningrad, Hermitage). See B. Haak: op. cit., nr 701.

66. M. Hobbema: Wooded landscape with cows (Blessington, Ireland, Sir Alfred Beit private collection). See Masters of Dutch 17th-century landscape painting (op. cit.), p. 349.

67. Nicolaes Berchem: Peasants with cattle under a rocky arch (1654; Basel, public collection). See Im Lichte Hollands: Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein und aus Schweizer Besitz (exh. cat. by P. ten-Doesschate Chu, Basel, Kunstsammlungen, 1987), p. 73. K. Dujardin: Italianate landscape with figures and animals (Arnhem, Gemeentemuseum). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 27.

68. Adriaen van de Velde: The cottage (1671; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). Hendrik ten Dever: Landscape with horses and cattle (Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 32, fig. 124.

69. Saloman van Ruysdael: see [53] above. --: Landscape with medieval castle (1652; Vaduz, Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein). See Im Lichte Hollands (op. cit.), p. 229. Gerrit Bleker (fl. 1625-56): Peasant couple on their way to market, etching (1643; London, British Museum). See Dutch landscape: the early years (op. cit.), nr 35.

70. Paulus Potter: The reflected cow (1648; The Hague, Mauritshuis). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), fig. 81. Moyses van Wtenbrouck (1590/95-1647): Arcadian landscape (The Hague, DRVK). See B. Haak: op. cit., fig. 716. Reyer Claesz. Suycker (c. 1590-1653/5): Landscape with bathers and a view of Haarlem (c. 1640; Amsterdam, private collection). See Dutch landscape: the early years (op. cit.), nr 63.

71. Hendrik ten Dever: Landscape near Zwolle with bathers (1675; Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland;). See Masters of Dutch 17th-century landscape painting (op. cit.), nr 62. See also [58] above.

72. Govert Camphuysen (1623/4-72): Farm at sunset (London, Wallace Collection). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), fig. 133. Jan van de Velde after Willem Buytewech: see [38] above. Esias van de Velde (1587-1630): Landscape with riders (Manchester, City Art Gallery). See Dutch landscape: the early years (op. cit.), nr 65.

73. Jan van Goyen: River landscape with ferry and windmill (1625; Zürich, Foundation E. G. Bührle private collection). See Masters of Dutch 17th-century landscape painting (op. cit.), nr 33.

74. Cornelis van Poelenburch: Flight into Egypt (Utrecht, Centraal Museum). See Masters of Dutch 17th-century landscape painting (op. cit.), nr 69. Abraham Bloemaert: The dismissal of Hagar and Ishmael (1635; private collection). See Im Lichte Hollands (op. cit.), p. 89. Cornelis Saftleven: Bridge with the flight into Egypt (1652; Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum). See W. Schulz: op. cit., nr 573.

75. Paulus Potter: Landscape with peasant family and cattle (1651; Amsterdam Rijksmuseum). Adriaen van de Velde: Bagpipe player with cattle (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 25. Paulus Potter: Cows driven to pasture (1647; Salzburg, Residenzgalerie). See Masters of Dutch 17th-century landscape painting (op. cit.), p. 418.

76. Paulus Potter: see [58] above.

77. Jan Asselijn: Herdsman and cattle at a ford (c. 1649; Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste). See Masters of Dutch 17th-century landscape painting (op. cit.), nr 2. Anthonie Waterloo (1610-90): Herd of cattle near a stone bridge, etching. See I. de Groot: op. cit., nr 158.

78. Anthonie van Borssum: see [62] above. Reyer Claesz. Suycker: see [70] above. Jan van Goyen: see [73] above. Jacob van Ruisdael: Woodland landscape (Birmingham, University of Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts). See Dutch landscape painting (exh. cat. by C. Wright, Newcastle upon Tyne, Laing Art Gallery, 1983), nr 37. Hendrik ten Oever (attributed): Meadow scene with cattle (private collection). See B. Haak: op. cit., nr 295.

79. Salomon van Ruysdael: see [53] above. Adam Willaerts: see [46] above.

80. Salomon van Ruysdael: see [53, 54] above. Esias van de Velde: The ferryboat (1622; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See Masters of Dutch 17th-century landscape painting (op. cit.), nr 106.

81. Polder landscape... See [49] above.

82.Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708) after A. Houbraken: Dordrecht after the St Elisabeth's flood. See M. Balen: op. cit., facing p. 768. Hendrik Hondius: see [50] above. Maarten Frans van der Hulst (c. 1600-after 1646): The storm (Brussels private collection). See Dutch landscape: the early years (op. cit.), nr 98.

83.Paulus Potter: Evening landscape with cattle and peasants dancing to the sound of a pipe (1649; Manchester, City Art Galleries). See Dutch landscape painting (op. cit.), nr 29. Jacobus Sibrandi Mancadan: Hilly landscape with herders and cattle by a ruin (Leeuwarden, Fries Museum). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 13.

84.Paulus Potter: see [58] above. Paulus Potter: Herdsman with cattle (1651; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). Karel Dujardin: Farm animals with a boy and a sleeping herdsman (1656; London, National Gallery). See Masters of Dutch 17th-century landscape painting (op. cit.), nr 74, fig. 17.

85.Cornelis and Herman Saftleven: see [52] above. Gijsbert de Hondecoeter (c. 1604-53): Landscape with cattle and birds (Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 12.

86.Nicolaes Berchem: A man and a youth ploughing with oxen (London, National Gallery). See Dutch landscape painting: the early years (op. cit.), nr 5.

87.Cornelis Saftleven: Landscape with peasants and cattle (1660; The Hague, Mauritshuis). See W. Schulz: op. cit., nr 583. Govert Camphuysen: Cattle by a farm with milkmaid and boy (Gorinchem, Stadhuis). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nr 40.

88.Jan van de Velde after Willem Buytewech: see [38] above. Cornelis Saftleven: Cattle market (versions 1663; Budapest, Szepmüvészeti Museum; 1666; Solingen, private collection; Leningrad, Hermitage). See W. Schulz: op. cit., nrs 626-8.

89.Clara Peeters (1594-after 1657): Still life with cheeses (Netherlands private collection). See Still-life in the age of Rembrandt (op. cit.), nr 4. Floris van Dijck (1575-1651): Still-life with cheese (1613; Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum). See N. Eekhof-Stork: Spectrum kaasatlas (Utrecht, 1981), p. 11.

90.Roelandt Savery: see [6] above. Hubert van Ravestyn: Stalinterieur with woman and three children (Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum). J. Leveck: Cow in a stall (1616; Groningen, Groninger Museum). See Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (op. cit.), nrs 42, 34.

91.Gerard ter Borch: see [51] above.

92. Peter Paul Rubens: The Prodigal Son (c. 1617-19; Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten). See C. White: Peter Paul Rubens (New Haven and London, 1987), fig. 138.

93. Hubert van Ravesteyn: Stalinterieur (Munich, private collection). See K. J. Müllenmeister: op. cit., ii (1978), fig. 321.

Earliest recorded dates of some markets and weighhouses for selected towns are listed. The foundation of trading activity in these centres was probably much earlier. Several other towns known to have been associated with livestock or dairy trade from the 12th century onward (e.g. Delft) have had to be omitted because recorded dates are not readily available.¹

MARKETS

Utrecht 660
Amsterdam c. 1220
Haarlem 1266
Schiedam 1270
Leiden 1303 + 1624
Hoorn 1311 + 1605
(Danish traders 1389-1605)
Bergen op Zoom 1365
Alkmaar 1365
Gouda 1365
Enkhuizen 1494
(Danish traders from 1605)
Groningen 1524
Dordrecht c. 1543
Kampen 1592
Rotterdam 1611

WEIGHHOUSES

Amsterdam c. 1220
Haarlem 1266 + 1600
Bruges 1288 (Boterhuis)
Hoorn 1356 + 1609
Leeuwarden 1386 + 1590
Enkhuizen 1394 + 1559
Alkmaar 1408 + 1582
Gorkum c. 1437
Gouda c. 1449 + 1668
Rotterdam 1505 + 1619
Deventer 1527
Dokkum 1593 + 1752
Oudewater 1595
Nijmegen 1612
Rotterdam 1619
Amersfoort 1622
Groningen 1660
Maastricht 1663
Leiden 1658
Edam 1788

¹SOURCES: J. le Francq van Berkhey: op. cit., iv/2. G. J. Hengeveld: op. cit., ii, pp. 18-25. P. N. Boekel: op. cit., pp. 21-3, 46-58. L. Noordegraaf: Nederlandse marktsteden (Utrecht/Amsterdam, 1983).

APPENDIX 3

MILK YIELDS

<u>Date</u>	<u>Yield per cow</u>	<u>Source</u>
c. 330 BC	91 litres per day	Aristotle ¹
13th cent.	86 pounds per day	Albertus Magnus ²
14th cent.	600 liters per ann.	Slicher v Bath ³
16th cent.	2000 stoopen per ann.	Guicciardini ⁴
16th cent.	1350 litres per ann.	Roessingh ⁵
1571-3	4-5 litres per day	Slicher v Bath ⁶
17th cent.	50-80 pounds per day	de Serres ⁷
1670s	2000 litres per ann.	de Vries ⁸
18th cent.	1100-1800 litres per ann.	Slicher v Bath ⁹
18th cent.	1200-1500 litres per ann.	Slicher v Bath ¹⁰
1750	760 litres	Slicher v Bath ¹¹
18th cent. (end)	1500-2000 litres per ann.	Dogterom ¹²
1800	32-6 pounds per day	Garrard ¹³
1980	5000 litres per ann.	Fokkinga ¹⁴

1. G. J. Hengeveld: op. cit., ii, p. 165; W. Geldof: op. cit., p. 65.

2. E. P. Prentice: op. cit. (1942), p. 115.

3. B. H. Slicher van Bath: op. cit. (1963), p. 182. Figure is for England: the author says a yield of double this value would have been expected with better feeding.

4. L. Guicciardini: op. cit. (1612), p. 193. Figure for Assendelft.

5. H. K. Roessingh: 'Berekening van de melkopbrengst', Agronomisch-Historisch Bijdragen, iv (1958), pp. 131-2.

6. B. H. Slicher van Bath: op. cit. (1958), p. 106. Average for Hemmema's cattle.

7. O. de Serres: op. cit.: "It has been estimated that Holland and Zealand produce every year a quantity of milk equal to the quantity of wine produced by all Gascony. Individual cows sometimes produce 50 or 60 pounds of milk a day or even 80 pounds" (trans. in E. P. Prentice: op. cit. (1942), p. 100).

8. J. de Vries: op. cit. (1974), p. 114. Figure for North Holland.

9. B. H. Slicher van Bath: op. cit., (1963), p. 284. Average for the Netherlands.

10. B. H. Slicher van Bath: op. cit., (1958), p. 106. Average for Friesland.

11. B. H. Slicher van Bath: op. cit. (1963), p. 284. Figure for England.

12. C. P. Dogterom: op. cit., p. 24. Average for the Netherlands.

13. G. Garrard: A description of the different varieties of oxen common in the British Isles (London, 1800). Figure for English Holderness shorthorn.

14. A. Fokkinga: op. cit., p. 102. Average for the Netherlands.

Richard Farington, a contemporary of Aelbert Cuyp, was an Englishman active in Dordrecht as a landscape painter and merchant. He may have been the only artist in England in the 1670s with first-hand knowledge of Cuyp's work and, thus, one of the few people who could comment on it to English 17th-century collectors and artists. Genealogical research has not yet verified the proposal that a family connection exists between Richard Farington and the brothers Joseph (1747-1821) and George (1752-88) Farington from Lancashire (see family tree on p. 290 below), both of whom were also painters. Joseph, a pupil of Richard Wilson, also kept a Diary that has since become an important source of information on developments in English art and taste of the late 18th century.¹ The published family histories, pedigrees and other records of the Faringtons in Lancashire, Chichester and London include several Richards in the 17th century.² The Lancashire County Record Office and Leyland

¹See p. 10 above.

²E. Baines: The history of the county palatinate and duchy of Lancaster, ed. J. Croston (Manchester, 1891), p. 323. W. Berry: County genealogies; pedigrees of the families in the county of Sussex (London, 1830), p. 41. J. Burke: A genealogical and heraldic history of the commoners of Great Britain and Ireland, iii (London, 1886), pp. 339-42. --: A genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England, Ireland and Scotland (London, 2/1844), p. 192. W. Farrer and J. Brownbill, eds: The Victoria county history of the county of Lancaster (London, 1911), vi, pp. 3-14. S. M. Farington, ed.: 'The Farington papers', Cheetham Society, xxxix (1861). J. Foster, ed.: London marriage licences, 1521-1869 (London, 1887), pp. 473-4. J. Foster: Pedigrees of the county families of England, i, Lancashire (London, 1873). Gentlemen's Magazine (1822),

Historical Society have no information that would link any Farington family member with the Netherlands.³ A search of the Farington family papers has not yet revealed a connection that positively identifies Richard Farington.⁴ The entry for Richard Farington in Thieme-Becker records:

"Nachkommen des F. sind in England als Maler bekannt (s. Farington)"⁵

presumably based on Bredius's statements (1913) that:

"Latere afstammelingen van hem zijn in Engeland als schilders bekend"⁶

and:

"... in England gab es auch später noch Maler dieses Namens."⁷

Other biographical dictionaries, such as Bénézit's, have followed Thieme-Becker:

"Des descendants de cet artiste sont

i, p. 92. M. Gregson: Portfolio of fragments relative to the history and antiquities, topography and genealogies of the county palatine and duchy of Lancaster (Manchester, 3/1869), pp. 245-7.

³Farington Mss, Historical Manuscripts Commission, National Register of Archives (Preston, 1958) and personal communications.

⁴Ms S. M. Farrington [personal communication].

⁵U. Thieme and F. Becker: 'Richard Farrington', Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, 37 vols (Leipzig, 1907-50), xi, p. 280.

⁶A. Bredius: 'Een en ander over Dordtsche schilders', Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, xii (1913), pp. 115-18; as booklet (Amsterdam, 1913)

⁷A. Bredius: op. cit. (1915-22), iv, p. 391. M. D. H.: 'Forschungen', Kunstchronik, xxiv/33 (1913), cols 486-7.

connus en Angleterre comme peintres."⁹

It is thought that Richard Farington was born and died in England and spent his middle years (c. 1648-c. 1664) in Dordrecht. He died before 1681, the year in which a Dordrecht notarial document records an inheritance of fl 66 due to his widow in London.⁹ His involvement in the art life of mid-17th-century Dordrecht is not in doubt. That he was an accomplished landscape painter can confidently be inferred from the positive identification of works by him in contemporary Dordrecht collections:

- "(7) Een drie Koningen van Benjamin Cuyp,
levensgrote
- (9) Koyen van Aelbert van Kuyp
- (15) Een lantschap van Richard Farenton
- (24) Een groenwyff van van Hasselt"¹⁰

Adriaen (Ary) Hubertsz. Verveer, a pupil of Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp and painter of portraits and histories, assembled a large picture collection that included two works by Richard Farington, one valued at fl 36 in 1660.¹¹ The important collection of Abraham Sam (d 1692), Dordrecht wine dealer, contained 87 pictures including two by Richard

⁹E. Bénézit, ed.: Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs, 10 vols (Paris, 1913-22, rev. 3/1976).

⁹Adriaen Meynaert (NA), 3 July 1681.

¹⁰Selected items from the inventory of 84 pictures kept in the house of Jan Constant, Dordrecht stone-mason, 2 April 1674, on behalf of Maria van Rommerswael, widow of the Dordrecht collector Godschalck van der Hulst and mother of Pieter van der Hulst (1651-1727), Dordrecht flower painter, while she lived in The Hague. A. Bredius: 'Rembrandtiana' Oud-Holland, xxviii (1910), pp. 11-12; --: op. cit. (1915-22), iv, pp. 1371-2.

¹¹A. Bredius: op. cit. (1915-22), iii, p. 897.

Farington ("een groot landschap", "een lantschap Kasteel"), four by Aelbert Cuyp, three each by Joost Cornelisz. Droochsloot (1586-1666) and Bartholomeus Assteyn (1607-?1667), and others by Jan van Goyen, Jan Victors and Hendrik Verschuring (1627-90). The pictures are listed in the inventory by the rooms in Sam's house where they were displayed,¹² from which it seems probable that the Farington landscapes were hung as pendants to the Cuyp landscapes.¹³ Another Dordrecht collector, Jacob Floryn, owned two Farington landscapes in 1670.¹⁴ Farington's landscapes were of large format,¹⁵ suggesting they were made for specific commissions.

The earliest evidence of Farington's presence in Dordrecht comes from a document he signed in 1648¹⁶ with Pieter Fris (1627/8-1708), a painter of histories, genre scenes and Italianate landscapes. He was born in Amsterdam and after some time in Dordrecht returned there by 1657 and spent 1660-68 in Haarlem.¹⁷ Whether any formal professional arrangement existed between Cuyp and Farington is dependent

¹²Adriaen Meynaert (NA), 16 August 1692.

¹³A. Bredius: op. cit. ('Dordtsche schilders...', 1913), p. 117/p. 3.

¹⁴U. Thieme and F. Becker: op. cit.

¹⁵A. Bredius: 'Der neue Smith II. Band', Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, xxxii (1909), p. 83, note 2. U. Thieme and F. Becker: op. cit.

¹⁶Johan Reyns (NA), 17 July 1648.

¹⁷A. Houbraken: op. cit., ii (1719), p. 345.

on further archival studies: Bredius suggested Farington could have been Cuyp's pupil and Gerson referred to the possibility.¹⁸ Even so, Richard Farington's associations with Aelbert Cuyp go beyond their own painting activities. Farington's wife, Anneken Barthouds Mesyan (d after 1681), was from a family of Dordrecht artists and craftsmen (see family tree below; in the Dordrecht archive the name is also spelt "Mesian", "Mesjan", "Meschian", etc.), one of whom, Jan Aryen Mesyan, was a leading glass painter and official of the St Lucasgilde, who had entered the gilde as a glassmaker on 17 November 1620 and as a painter on 10 September 1635.¹⁹ His name heads a list in an inventory of the gilde's finances drawn up in 1637 by Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp as book-keeper.²⁰ Abraham Gerritszoon Cuyp (an uncle of Aelbert Cuyp) rented a house at the Nieuwe Haven from Cornelis Mesyan.²¹ Anneken's sister Pieterella married Dirck Tegelberg, a silversmith whose family included the landscape painter Cornelis,²² who was with Jacob Gerritszoon

¹⁸A. Bredius: op. cit. (1915-22), iv, p. 1391. H. Gerson: Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts (Haarlem, 1942), p. 401.

¹⁹F. D. O. Obreen, ed.: op. cit., i (1877-8), pp. 199, 211.

²⁰Portret van een meester (op. cit.), p. 1. See Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 17.

²¹Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 13.

²²A. Houbraken: op. cit., i, p. 238; a landscape by Cornelis Tegelberg is reproduced in S. Reiss: op. cit., p. 213. See also A. Bredius: op. cit. (1915-22), vi, p. 2073.

Cuyyp one of the founders of the Confrerie of St Lucas.²³ Another Dirck Tegelberg was identified by Bredius in Thieme-Becker as a painter of battle scenes, active in Dordrecht c. 1650-60. Jan Dircksz. Tegelberg, "clavercynmaker ende clockstelder", was mentioned by Isaac Beeckman, the Dordrecht scientist, teacher and diarist;²⁴ his son Dirck Jansz. succeeded him as "clockstelder" and was also "un joueur de clavecin très renommé".²⁵ Dirck Jansz., also called Theodore (1606/9-after 1665), whose mother was Sara Bruyn, married Apolonia van Botlant (d 1655). He was celebrated in two poems by the Dordrecht poet Margaretha Godewyck:²⁶ 'Op de speelconst van Theodorus Tegelberg' (1644) and 'Op 't clavecimbelspel van Mr Theodore Tegelberg' (1645).²⁷ Members of the Mesyan and Tegelberg families are frequently named in a number of Dordrecht notarial documents; so too is Richard Farington²⁸ himself in 1651, 1653 and every year from 1656 to 1664.²⁹ The records

²³It seceded from the St Lucasgilde in 1642 in order to give the painters their own distinct professional and regulatory body; A. Houbraken: op. cit., i (1718), p. 238. See also p. 240 above.

²⁴C. de Waard: op. cit., iv, p. 128. See p. 230 above.

²⁵C. de Waard: ibid., p. 128, note 5.

²⁶See p. 230 above for further details on Godewyck.

²⁷Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek (op. cit.), v, col. 895.

²⁸He signed himself "ffarington" and his name was also spelt "Farrington", "Fariton", "Farenton" etc.

²⁹Arent Muys van Holy (NA), 1646-62; Gijsbert de Jager (NA), 1649-96; Johan Reyns (NA), 1647-75; Arent van Neten (NA), 1653-63; Johan Schoormans (NA), 1631-66; Elias Vinck (NA), 1654-62; Adriaen Benschop (NA), 1656-78; Adriaen de Haen

describe him as "schilder", "maeckelaer van de Engelse Court", "burger", "coopman" and "coopman in wynen" and show that in 1662 he rented a house for fl 220 "op de cleyne vismarkt".³⁰

Richard Farington and Anneken Mesyan had four children, all baptised into the Hervormde Kerk in Dordrecht: Johannes (1651), Barthoudt (1654), Samuel (1657) and Hester (1660).³¹ Aelbert Cuyp was nominated as a deacon of the Hervormde Kerk in 1659 and served in that office from 1660 to 1661.³² Another possible opportunity for contact between Richard Farington and Cuyp was the location of the house where Cuyp lived from 1663. This was situated in Wijnstraat near the Wijnkoperskapel,³³ which from 1655 was made over as a place of worship by the Dordrecht city authorities to the Merchant Adventurers, the English community of traders³⁴ with whom Richard Farington was involved. Although Farington was probably not himself a member of the Merchant Adventurers

(NA), 1657-71; Adriaen Meynaert (NA), 1658-99.

³⁰Adriaen Meynaert (NA), 20 May 1662.

³¹Doop- trouw- en begraafboeken, 1573-1812 (Dordrecht, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst).

³²Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 19.

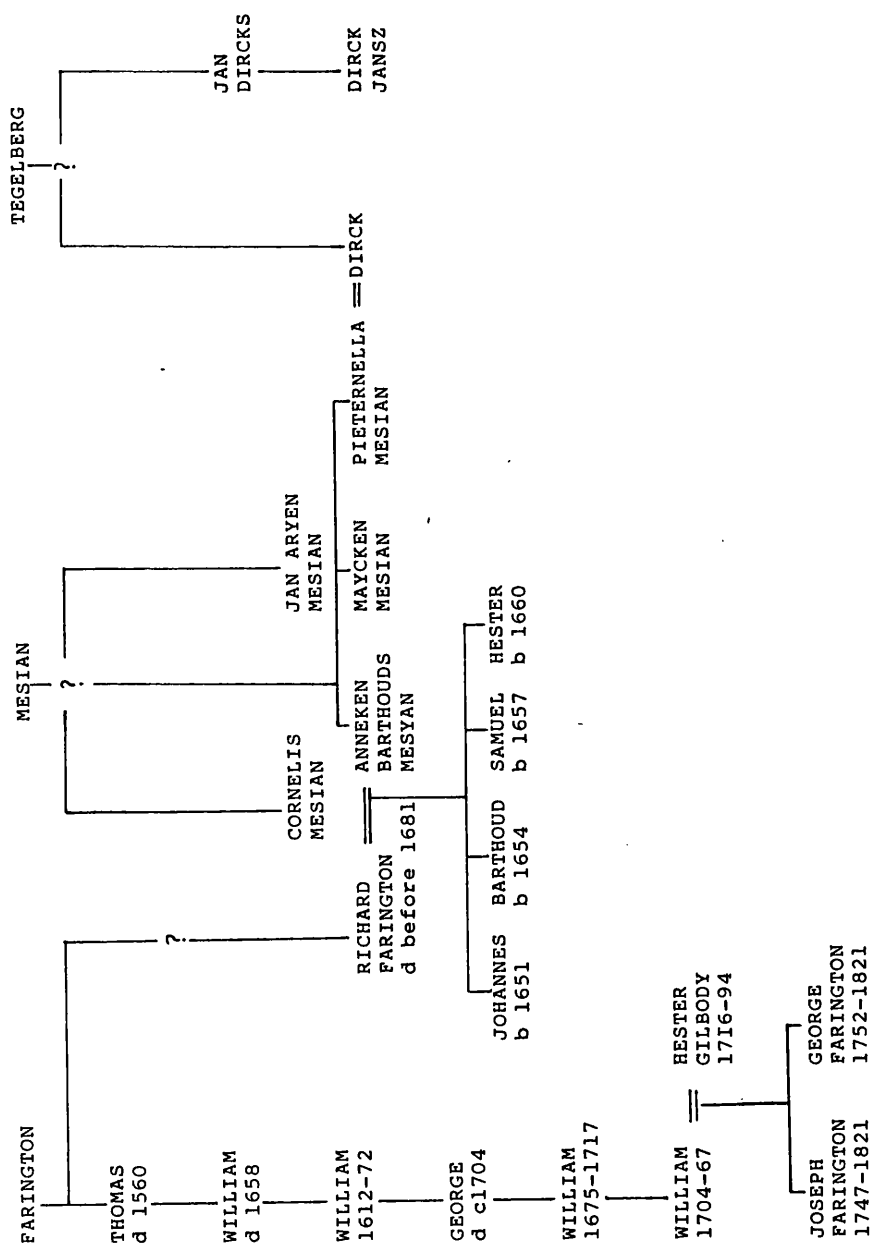
³³The buildings, in Wijnstraat, are illustrated in Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (op. cit.), p. 18.

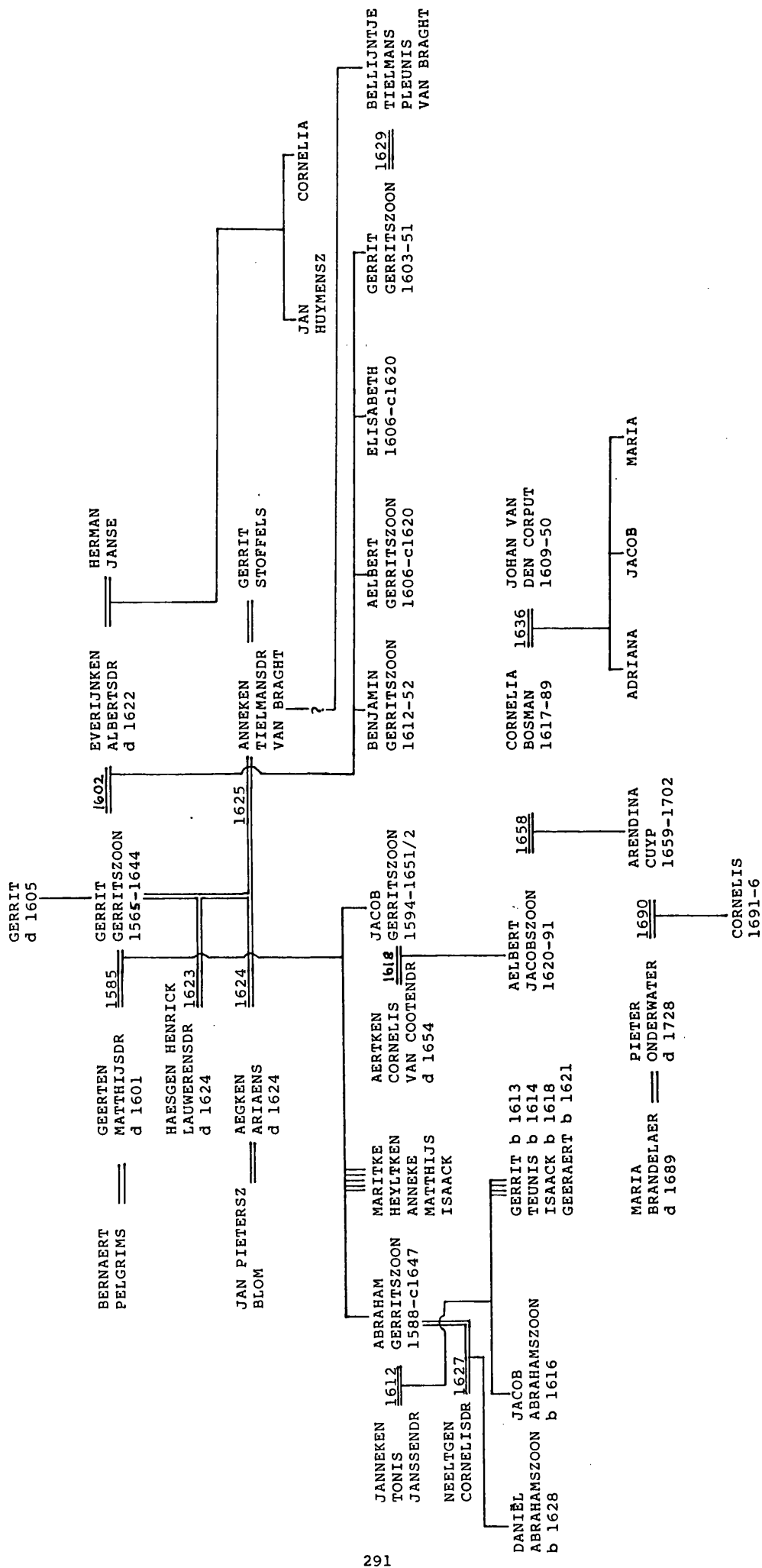
³⁴See pp. 245-7 above.

Company³⁵ he must have been an active member of the English community then in Dordrecht. By 1664 Farington was in London according to an entry in the Dordrecht archives, in which a Dutchman living in London was authorised to collect the sum of fl 875 for wine from him.³⁶

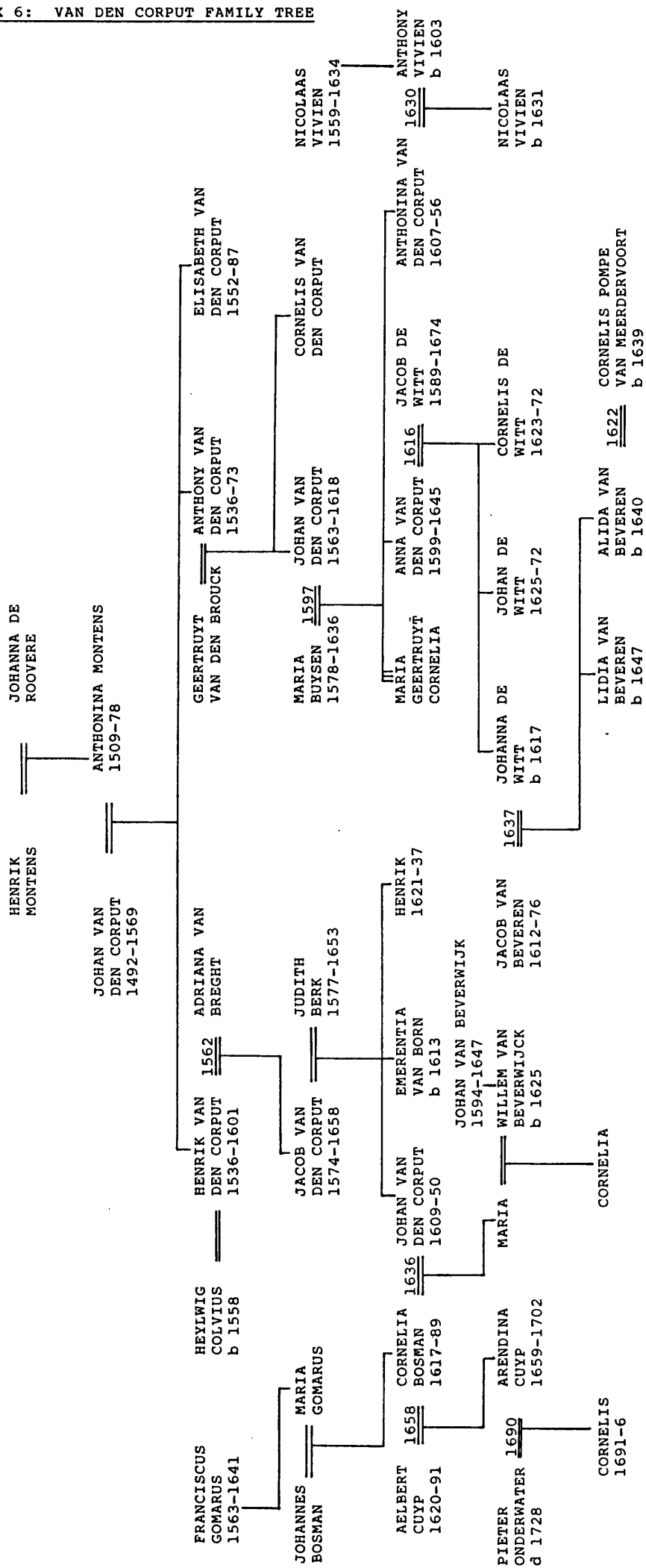
³⁵He was disqualified, according to Article XXII of the regulations, having married a foreigner. W. E. Lingelbach: op. cit. (Pennsylvania, 1902).

³⁶H. Smits (NA), 24 October 1664.





APPENDIX 6: VAN DEN CORPUT FAMILY TREE



APPENDIX 7 ARTISTS ACTIVE IN DORDRECHT IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES AND THEIR SPECIALTIES

[A = animals; Ar = architectural subjects; B = birds; C = cattle; E = engravings/etchings; G = genre; H = histories; L = landscapes; Ld = landscape drawings; M = marines; P = portraits; S = still-lives. Dates = years of activity in Dordrecht.]¹

Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp	1615-51/2	P A
Dirck van Hoogstraten	c. 1616-40	H
Bartholomeus Assteyn	c. 1628-56	S
Paulus Lesire	1631-after 1656	P
Benjamin Gerritszoon Cuyp	1631-52	H
Ferdinand Bol	?1638-?	P
Cornelis Tegelberg	?-after 1667	L
Pieter Verelst	c. 1638-c. 1678	P G S
Aelbert Cuyp	1639-?	L C
Jacob Fransz van der Merck	c. 1640-58	G P
Abraham Susenier	1640-after 1664	L S
Jacques de Claeuw	c. 1642-65	S
Isack Mes	1642-68	G
Bastiaen Govertsz vd Leeuw	1644-80	A
Adriaen Hubertsz Verveer	c. 1646-after 1672	P H
Gerard de Jager	1646-79/80	M
Adriaen van Eemont	c. 1647-62	L B
Samuel van Hoogstraten	1647-78	P G H Ar
Richard Farington	1648-c. 1664	L
Pieter Fris	1648-before 1657	H G L
Cornelis Bisschop	1650-74	P G
Melchior Ronghen	1654-72	L
Nicolaes Maes	1654-73	P G

Jacobus Leveck	1654-75	P
Hubert van Ravesteyn	1658-before 1691	C S
Abraham van Calraet	1662-1722	L C S
Godfried Schalcken	1663-92	P G
Govert van der Leeuw	1665-70	L C
Aert de Gelder	1665-1727	H P
Johannes Offermans	1666-after 1696	L
Pieter van der Leeuw	1667-79	L A
Willem van Drielenburg	1668-after 1677	L
Barent van Calraet	1669-1737	L P
Arnoldus Verbuys	1673-?1682	P H
Jacobus Bisschop	1678-after 1696	?
Pieter van der Hulst	1684-1727	F
Arnold Houbraken	1680-1719	H P
Arnold Boonen	1689-96	P G
Abraham Bisschop	1690-before 1715	D
Adriaen van der Burg	1703-33	P H G
Matthijs Balen	1704-5; c. 1715-66	L H
Frans Greenwood	1726-63	E
Cornelis Greenwood	1728-35	?P
Karel Borchard Voet	?1730-43	A S
Aert Schouman	1730-92	L A P H
Jacob Hoolaart	1733-89	L
Albertus de Jonck	1743-66	?
Joris Ponse	1743-83	P
Jan van Leen	1744-1806	?
Wouter Dam	1746-86	A B
Wouter Uiterlommige	1750-84	P B

Cornelis Vermeulen	1752-1813	L
Dirk Kuipers	1753-96	Ld
Ary Wanum	1755-c. 1780	M
Jan Rombouts	1755-1805	A
Cornelis Kuipers	1756-84	L
Carel Frederik Bendorp	1756-1814	L
Jan Arends	1758-1805	L
Jan Kelderman	1761-1820	S
Laurens Gelderblom	1765-74	S
Willem de Bruin	1765	E
Dionys Dongen	1768-71	L C
Arie Lamme	1768-1801	L C
Gerrit Malleyn	1773-1816	L A
Abraham van Strij	1775-1826	G
Pieter Hofman	1775-1837	L S
Johannes Schoenmakers	1775-1842	L Ar
Jacob van Strij	1776-1813	L C
Michiel Versteegh	1776-1843	L G
Andries Vermeulen	1783-1813	L C
Adriaan Meulemans	1783-1835	G
Pieter Bouman	1784-?	L
Hermanus de Wit	1784-1842	A
Willem van Leen	1785-9	S A
Johannes Christiaan Bendorp	1786-1849	M
Bartholomeus Bonket	1787-1838	?
Cornelia Lamme	1789-96	P
Jan van Lexmond	1789-1838	L
Gillis Smak Gregoor	1790-1843	L C

Martinus Schouman	1791-1839	M
Arnoldus Lamme	1791-?1856	H
François Carlebur I	1792-1847	L
Arnoldus van Well	1793-1818	L
Egbert van Well	1794-1830	L
Pieter Fontijn	1794-1839	P
Johan Hendrik Boshamer	1795-1862	M
Abraham Teerlink	1796-1807	L
Leendert de Koningh	1797-1801; after c. 1813	L C
Michiel van der Broek	1798-1853	L

1.SOURCES: Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorisches Documentatie; P. A. Scheen: Lexikon nederlandse beeldende kunstenaars, 1750-1950 (The Hague, 1981); Tweehonderd jaar Pictura (op. cit.); 150 jaar Dordtse tekenkunst, 1500-1850 (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1984-5); Tussen zonnengoud en kaarslicht: Dordtse meesters, 1780-1840 (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1986); G. J. Schweitzer: Catalogus schilderijen Dordrechts Museum, II, 1700-1850 (Dordrecht, 1984); J. A. Smits van Nieuwerkerk: De Dordrechtsche schilderschool, bevattende levensberichten der hollandsche en vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters in Dordrecht geboren of gewoond hebbende van de vroegsten tijd tot op 1 October 1874 (Dordrecht, 1874); and other sources in Bibliography, 2.3.

APPENDIX 8

DORDRECHT ARTISTS: TEACHERS AND PUPILS

	TEACHERS	PUPILS
Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp	A Bloemaert	A Cuyp BG Cuyp F Bol P Lesire AH Verveer
Dirck van Hoogstraten		S & J van Hoogstraten
Bartholomeus Assteyn		
Paulus Lesire	JG Cuyp	
Benjamin Gerritszoon Cuyp	JG Cuyp	
Ferdinand Bol	JG Cuyp	C Bisschop
Cornelis Tegelberg		
Pieter Verelst		S Verelst
Aelbert Cuyp	JG Cuyp	A & B van Calraet ? R Farington
Jacob Fransz van der Merck		
Abraham Susenier		
Jacques de Claeuw		
Isack Mes		
Bastiaen Govertsz vd Leeuw	JG Cuyp	F & G vd Leeuw
Adriaen Hubertsz Verveer	JG Cuyp	
Gerard de Jager		
Adriaen van Eemont		J Offermans
Samuel van Hoogstraten	D van Hoogstraten Rembrandt	G Schalcken A de Gelder A Houbraken
Richard Farington	? A Cuyp	
Pieter Fris		
Cornelis Bisschop	F Bol	

Melchior Ronghens		
Nicolaes Maes	Rembrandt	
Jacobus Leveck	Rembrandt	A Houbraken
Hubert van Ravesteyn		
Abraham van Calraet	A & S Huppé	B van Calraet
Godfried Schalcken	S van Hoogstraten G Dou	A Boonen
Govert van der Leeuw	BG vd Leeuw A Cuyp	
Aert de Gelder	S van Hoogstraten Rembrandt	
Johannes Offermans	AH Verveer A v Eemont	
Pieter van der Leeuw	BG vd Leeuw A Cuyp	
Willem van Drielenburg	A Bloemaert	A Houbraken
Barent van Calraet	A v Calaret A Cuyp	
Arnoldus Verbuys		A Boonen
Jacobus Bisschop		
Pieter van der Hulst	W Dodijn	
Arnold Houbraken	S van Hoogstraten J Leveck W v Drielenburg J Haen	A vd Burg J & A Houbraken M Balen J Graham
Arnold Boonen	A Verbuys G Schalken	
Abraham Bisschop		
Adriaen van der Burg	A Houbraken	A Schouman C Greenwood

Matthijs Balen	A Houbraken	
Frans Greenwood		A Schouman
Cornelis Greenwood	A vd Burg	
Karel Borchard Voet		
Aert Schouman	A vd Burg F Greenwood	W Dam A de Jonck D Kuipers W Uiterlimmige G Malleyn J Ponse M Schouman J van Os
Jacob Hoolaart		
Albertus de Jonck	A Schouman	
Joris Ponse	A Schouman	L Gelderblom P Hofman D Kuipers A Lamme W van Leen A van Strij M Versteegh
Jan van Leen		W van Leen JH Boshamer P Fontijn M Versteegh
Wouter Dam	A Schouman	J Kelderman
Wouter Uiterlimmige	A Schouman	CF Bendorp J Schoenmakers
Cornelis Vermeulen		
Dirk Kuipers	J Ponse A Schouman	P Hofman W van Leen
Ary Wanum		
Jan Rombouts		
Cornelis Kuipers		
Carel Frederik Bendorp	W Uiterlimmige	
Jan Arends	J Ponse	W van Leen

Jan Kelderman	W Dam M Versteegh	A Teerlink
Laurens Gelderblom	J Ponse	
Willem de Bruin		
Dionys Dongen	F Xavery	
Arie Lamme	J Ponse	M vd Broek JH Boshamer A Teerlink
Gerrit Malleyn	A Schouman	
Abraham van Strij	L van Strij J Ponse	GS Gregoor J Rutten
Pieter Hofman	J Ponse D Kuipers	P Fontijn J van der Kaa W de Klerk A van der Koogh GA Schmidt
Johannes Schoenmakers	W Uiterlimmige J van Strij M Versteegh	
Jacob van Strij	L van Strij A C Lens	GS Gregoor J v Lexmond J Schoenmakers
Michiel Versteegh	J Ponse J van Leen	A Meulemans J Rosière A Teerlink J Kelderman J Schoenmakers L de Koningh GS Gregoor M Schouman
Andries Vermeulen		A van Well
Adriaan Meulemans	M Versteegh	JC Schotel
Hermanus de Wit		
Willem van Leen	J van Leen A Arends D Kuipers J Ponse	P Fontijn
Pieter Bouman		

Johannes Christiaan Bendorp	CF Bendorp D Langendijk M de Sallieth	J van der Kaa CF Bendorp jr
Bartholomeus Bonket		
Cornelia Lamme		
Jan van Lexmond	J van Strij	GA Schmidt
Gillis Smak Gregoor	A & J v Strij M Versteegh	M Quispel
Martinus Schouman	A Schouman M Versteegh	JC Schotel PM Gregoor J de Greef
Arnoldus Lamme		
François Carlebur I		
Arnoldus van Well	A Vermeulen	
Egbert van Well		
Pieter Fontijn	P Hofman J & W van Leen	CF Bendorp JH Boshamer C Wüst
Johan Hendrik Boshamer	J van Leen P Fontijn A Lamme	J Rosière JW Boshamer A Teerlink
Abraham Teerlink	M Versteegh JH Boshamer J Kelderman A Lamme	
Leendert de Koningh	M Versteegh	A van Peurse
Michiel van der Broek	A Lamme JB Scheffer	

SOURCES: as for Appendix 7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. CUYP FAMILY

1.1 AELBERT CUYP

A. EARLY SOURCES

M. Balen: Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht (Dordrecht, 1677, R 1966), pp. 186, 909

A. Houbraken: De groote schouburgh der nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1718-21), i (1718), p. 248

B. MONOGRAPHS, BIOGRAPHIES AND CATALOGUES

A. Bredius: 'De stilleven-schilder Abraham (van) Calraet (1642-1722)', Oude Kunst, i (1915-16), pp. 90-91

--: 'Aelbert Cuyp of Abraham (van) Calraet (1642-1722)', Oude Kunst, i (1915-16), pp. 186-8

--: 'Een laatste woord over de Calraet kwestie', Oude Kunst, i (1915-16), pp. 293-4

--: 'Aelbert Cuyp of Abraham van Kalraet', Oude Kunst, i (1915-16), p. 314

A. Chong: Social meanings in the paintings of Aelbert Cuyp (diss., New York University, in preparation)

Dordrecht 1977-8: Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (exh. cat. by J. M. de Groot, J. G. van Gelder and W. Veerman, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1977-8), pp. 18-19, 54-7, 112-13, nrs 15-35, 41-72; review by C. Brown in Burlington Magazine, cxx (1978), pp. 52-3

J. G. van Gelder and I. Jost: The drawings of Aelbert Cuyp, ed. E. Haverkamp Begemann (in preparation)

C. Hofstede de Groot: A catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch painters of the seventeenth century, 8 vols (London, 1908-27), ii (1909), pp. 1-248; review by A. Bredius in Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, xxxii (1909), pp. 82-5

--: 'Aelbert Cuyp of Abraham van Kalraet', Oude Kunst, i (1915-16), pp. 143-5, 241-3, 314

J. Holmes: Aelbert Cuyp als Landschaftsmaler (diss., Cologne, n.d. [c. 1930])

[N. G. van Huffel:] 'De Cuyp-Calraet kwestie', Oude Kunst, i (1915-16), p. 386

London 1973: Aelbert Cuyp in British collections (exh. cat. by S. Reiss, London, National Gallery, 1973); review by B. Haak in Antiek, vii/10 (1973), pp. 713-19

E. Michel: 'Les Cuyp, une famille d'artistes hollandais', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, vii (1892), pp. 107-17

S. Reiss: Aelbert Cuyp (London, 1975)

J. Smith: A catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French painters, 8 vols (London, 1829-37), v (1834), pp. 279-368; Supplement (1842), pp. 649-67

G. H. Veth: 'Over de Cuyps en Bol', Nederlandsche Spectator, xv (1884), pp. 117-18

--: 'Aelbert Cuyp, Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp en Benjamin Cuyp', Oud-Holland, ii (1884), pp. 256-90

--: 'Aanteekeningen omtrent eenige Dordrechtsche schilders', Oud-Holland, vi (1888), pp. 142-8; xxi (1903), pp. 115-16

C. REFERENCES ON SPECIFIC WORKS

Amsterdam 1987-8a: Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (exh. cat. by P. C. Sutton et al., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1987-8; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Philadelphia, Museum of Art, 1988), nrs 20-25

A. Blankert: Museum Bredius: catalogus van de schilderijen en tekeningen (The Hague, 1978), pp. 46-7; review in Burlington Magazine, cxx (1978), pp. 349-50

J. Boydell: A collection of prints, engraved after the most capital paintings in England, i (London, 1769), pp. 11-12, pl. XII

A. Bredius: 'Letteren en kunst', Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, 5 November 1889

--: 'Nieuwe A. Cuyp te Dordrecht', Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, 10 November 1889

--: 'Aelbert Cuyps gezicht op Dordrecht', Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundig Bond, (July, 1900), pp. 201-5

--: 'Wie wurde Cuyp während seines Lebens geschätzt?', Kunstchronik, xxiv (1913), cols 409-11

C. J. de Bruyn Kops: 'Kanttekeningen bij het nieuw verworven

landschap van Aelbert Cuyp', Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum, xiii (1965), pp. 162-76

D. G. Burnett: 'Landscapes of Aelbert Cuyp', Apollo, lxxxix (1969), pp. 372-80

A. Chong: 'The market for landscape painting in seventeenth century Holland', Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (exh. cat. by P. C. Sutton et al., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1987-8; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Philadelphia, Museum of Art, 1988), pp. 111, 119

H. Dattenberg: Die niederrheinansichten holländischer Künstler des 17. Jahrhunderts, Die Kunstdenkmäler des Rheinlands, ed. R. Wesenberg, x (Düsseldorf, 1967), pp. 64-82

C. Duits: 'A landscape by Aelbert Cuyp', Duits Quarterly, xii (1968), pp. 3-7

J. G. van Gelder and I. Jost: 'Vroeg contact van Aelbert Cuyp met Utrecht', Miscellanea I. Q. van Reijteren Altena (Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 100-103

---: 'Doorzagen op Aelbert Cuyp', Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, xxiii (1972), pp. 223-39

---: 'Aelbert Cuyp', Seventeenth century Dutch landscape drawings and selected prints from American collections (exh. cat., Poughkeepsie, NY, Vassar College Art Gallery, 1976), pp. 61-9

---: 'Aelbert Cuyp', Seventeenth century Dutch drawings from American collections (exh. cat., Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1977), pp. 59-62

H. Gerson: 'Aelbert Cuyps gezichten van het Wachthuis in de Kil', Opus musivum: een bundel studies aangeboden aan prof. dr M. D. Ozinga ter gelegenheid van zijn 60e verjaardag op 10 november 1962, (Assen, 1964), pp. 257-69

F. Gorissen: Conspectus cliviae: die klevische Residenz in der Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts (Kleve, 1964), figs 13, 14, 20-22, 32, 37, 116

J. M. de Groot: 'Tekeningen van Aelbert Cuyp in Dordts bezit', Kwartaal en Tekenen Dordrecht, iii/3-4 (1977), pp. 24-7

[--]: 'Een vroeg landschap van Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691) in een Dordtse expositie', Antiek, xii (1977-8), pp. 373-4

[--]: 'Aelbert Cuyp en Dordrechts Museum', Dordrechts Museum Bulletin, iii/5 (1978)

[--]: 'Rustende ruiters in een landschap door Aelbert Cuyp',

Dordrechts Museum Bulletin, iii/5 (1978)

[--]: 'De schilder Aelbert Cuyp en het ruiterstuk',
Dordrechts Museum Bulletin, iii/5 (1978)

[--]: 'Kopen voor de eeuwigheid', Dordrechts Museum Bulletin, viii/6 (1983)

[--]: Stalinterieur (typescript, Dordrecht, 1984)

[--]: 'Een groeiende verzameling', Dordrechts Museum Bulletin, xii/6 (1987)

D. Hannema: Oude tekeningen uit de verzameling Victor de Stuers (Almelo, 1961), nrs 50-55

C. Hofstede de Groot: 'De portretten van het echtpaar Jacob Trip en Margaretha de Geer door de Cuyps, N. Maes en Rembrandt', Oud-Holland, xlv (1928), pp. 255-64

J. Holmes: 'The Cuyps in America', Art in America, xviii/4 (1929-30), pp. 165-85

W. Hutton: 'Aelbert Cuyp: The riding lesson', Toledo Museum News (Autumn 1961), pp. 79-85

A. M. Kettering: The Dutch Arcadia (Montclair, NJ, 1983), p. 64

Leeuwarden 1979: In het zadel: het nederlandse ruiterportret van 1550 tot 1900 (exh. cat. by C. Dumas, Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, 1979; 's Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum; Assen, Provinciaal Museum van Drenthe, 1980), nrs 63-72

London 1976: Art in seventeenth century Holland (exh. cat. ed. C. Brown, London, National Gallery, 1976), nrs 24-31

J. Nieuwstraten: 'Een ontlending van Cuyp aan Claude Lorrain', Oud-Holland, lxxx (1965), pp. 192-5

Paris 1960: Bestiaire hollandais (exh. cat., Paris, Institut Néerlandais, 1960), nrs 50-54

Paris 1986: De Rembrandt à Vermeer: les peintres hollandais au Mauritshuis de la Haye (exh. cat. by B. Broos, Paris, Grand Palais, 1986), nr 18

Recklinghausen 1969-70: Niederländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts. Hauptwerk aus Dordrechts Museum (exh. cat., Recklinghausen, Städtische Kunsthalle, 1969-70; Oberhausen, Städtische Galerie Schloss Oberhausen, 1970), nrs 21-3

S. Reiss: 'Aelbert Cuyp', Burlington Magazine, xcv (1953), pp. 42-7

--: 'The old guardhouse by Aelbert Cuyp', Burlington

Magazine, cxx (1978), pp. 87-8

F. Simpson: 'Dutch paintings in England before 1760', Burlington Magazine, xcv (1953), pp. 39-42

Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe: 'Neuerwerbungen 1986: Gemäldegalerie', Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg, xxiv (1987), pp. 146-7

A. Staring: 'De ruiterportretgroep van Aelbert Cuyp in het Metropolitan Museum te New York', Oud-Holland, lxxviii (1953), p. 117

W. Stechow: 'Cuyp's Valkhof at Nijmegen', John Herron Art Institute Bulletin, xlvii (1960), pp. 4-11

--: 'Significant dates on some seventeenth century Dutch landscape paintings' Oud-Holland, lxxv (1960), pp. 86-90

V. de Stuers: 'De lotery van Jan de Bondt, 1649', Archief voor nederlandse kunstgeschiedenis, ed. F. D. O. Obreen, 7 vols (Rotterdam, 1877-90, R Soest, 1976), ii (1879-80), pp. 71-93

Y. Yarpov: 'A picture from Aelbert Cuyp's transitional phase', Burlington Magazine, cxxiii (1981), pp. 160-63

D. OTHER SOURCES

E. Bénézit, ed.: Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs, 10 vols (Paris, 1913-22, rev. 3/1976)

W. Bernt: Die niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts, 3 vols (Munich, 1948), i, nrs 210-16

W. Bode: Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 151-62

A. Bredius: 'Rembrandtiana', Oud-Holland, xxv (1910), pp. 11-12

--: 'Een en ander over Dordtsche schilders', Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, xii (1913), pp. 115-18; as booklet (Amsterdam, 1913)

--: Künstler-Inventare; Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts, 7 vols (1915-22)

L. J. Bol: Holländische Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts nahe den grossen Meistern (Braunschweig, 1969), pp. 236-42

F. Cundall: The landscape and pastoral painters of Holland:

Ruisdael, Hobbema, Cuijp, Potter (London, 1891), pp. 63-103, 159-67

E. Dutuit: Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes, 4 vols (Paris, 1881-5, R Amsterdam, 1970), ii, pp. 98-9

R. van Eynden and A. van der Willigen: Geschiedenis des vaderlandsche schilderkunst sedert de helft der XVIII eeuw, 4 vols (Haarlem, 1816-40), i, pp. 382-9

E. Fromentin: Les maîtres d'autrefois (Paris, 1876); Eng. trans. ed. H. Gerson: The masters of past time: Dutch and Flemish painting from van Eyck to Rembrandt (London, 1948), pp. 146-51

H. Gerson: Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts (Haarlem, 1942), pp. 401, 434-6, 541

A. Graves: Art sales from early in the eighteenth century to early in the 20th century, 3 vols (London, 1918-21), i, pp. 189-95

B. Haak: The golden age: Dutch painters of the seventeenth century (London, 1984), pp. 340, 415-7

A. Hind: Catalogue of drawings by Dutch and Flemish artists preserved in the Dept of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, 5 vols (London, 1915-32), iii (1926), pp. 68-75

G. Hoet: Catalogus of naamlyst van schildereyen, met derzelver pryzen zedert een langen reeks van jaaren zoo in Holland als op andere plaatzen in het openbaar verkogt, 3 vols (The Hague, 1752-70, R Soest, 1976)

[C. Hofstede de Groot]: 'Aelbert Cuyp', Fiches, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorisch Documentatie (The Hague, n. d.)

F. W. H. Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, ca 1450-1700 (Amsterdam, 1949-), v, pp. 100-103

J. Immerzeel jr: De levens en werken der hollandsche en vlaamsche kunstchilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters van het begin der 15e eeuw tot heden, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1842-3), i, pp. 160-61

C. Kramm: De levens en werken der hollandsche en vlaamsche kunstchilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters van den vroegsten tot op onzen tijd, 7 vols (Amsterdam, 1857-64), i, pp. 308-10

W. Martin: Rembrandt en zijn tijd, De hollandsche schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw, ii (Amsterdam, 1936), pp. 340-49

- N. Maclaren: The Dutch school (London, 1960), pp. 82-94
- H. Mireur: Dictionnaire des ventes d'art faites en France et à l'étranger pendant les XVIII et XIX siècles, 2 vols (Paris, 1911), ii, pp. 326-32
- P. C. Molhuysen and F. K. H. Kossmann, eds: Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek (Leiden, 1911-37), vii (1927), cols 346-9
- K. J. Müllenmeister: Meer und Land im Licht des 17. Jahrhunderts, 3 vols (Bremen, 1973-81), ii, Tierdarstellungen in Werken niederländischen Künstler (1978), pp. 51-4
- G. K. Nagler: Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon, 22 vols (1835-52), iii, pp. 230-31
- F. D. O. Obreen, ed.: Archief voor nederlandse kunstgeschiedenis, 7 vols (Rotterdam, 1877-90, R Soest, 1976)
- J. Rosenberg, S. Slive and E. H. ter Kuile: Dutch art and architecture, 1600-1800 (Harmondsworth, 3/1977), pp. 276-9
- W. Stechow: Dutch landscape painting of the seventeenth century (London, 1966), pp. 27, 61-4, 119, 161-2, 181-2
- P. C. Sutton: Dutch art in America (Grand Rapids, 1986), p. 334
- U. Thieme and F. Becker: Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, 37 vols (Leipzig, 1907-50), viii (1913), pp. 227-9
- J. Veth: Kunstbeschouwingen (Amsterdam, 1904), pp. 167-78
- G. F. Waagen: Treasures of art in Great Britain, 3 vols (London, 1854); Supplement (London, 1857); A. Graves: Summary of and index to Waagen (London, 1912, R 1970), pp. 45-8
- C. White: Pictures in the collection of H. M. The Queen: the Dutch pictures (Cambridge, 1982), nrs 34-41
- A. von Wurzbach: Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon auf Grund archivalische Forschungen bearbeitet, 3 vols (Vienna and Leipzig, 1906-11), i, pp. 364-8, iii, pp. 70-71

1.2 GERRIT GERRITSZOOM CUYP

Description of the stained glass windows in St John's church at Gouda (Gouda, n.d.)

Dordrecht 1977-8: Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (exh. cat. by J. M. de Groot, J. G. van Gelder and W. Veerman, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1977-8), pp. 13, 14-16, nr 36

P. C. Molhuysen and F. H. K. Kossman, eds: Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek (Leiden, 1911-37), viii (1930), col. 355

F. D. O. Obreen, ed.: Archief voor nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis, 7 vols (Rotterdam, 1877-90, R Soest, 1976), i (1877-8), p. 183

U. Thieme and F. Becker: Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, 37 vols (Leipzig, 1907-50), viii (1913), p. 279

W. Veerman: Inventaris van de cartons van de Goudse glazen (Gouda, 1967)

--: 'Werktekeningen van de Goudse glazen', Holland, iv (1972), pp. 170-78

--: 'Gerrit Gerritsz. Cuyp', Spiegel Historiae, viii (1973), pp. 106-14

--: 'Een traditie?', Kwartaal en Tekenen Dordrecht, iii/3-4 (1977), pp. 1-5

G. H. Veth: 'Aanteekeningen omtrent eenige Dordrechtsche schilders', Oud-Holland, vi (1888), pp. 131-7

1.3 JACOB GERRITSZON CUYP

W. Bernt: Die niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts, 3 vols (Munich, 1948), i, nrs 219-20

Dordrecht 1975b: Portret van een meester (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1975)

Dordrecht 1977-8: Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (exh. cat. by J. M. de Groot, J. G. van Gelder and W. Veerman, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1977-8), pp. 13, 16-17, 22-3, nrs 1-9, 37-40

B. Haak: The golden age: Dutch painters of the seventeenth century (London, 1984), pp. 339-40

J. C. Heyligers: Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp: Porträt-, Genre- und Historienmaler zu Dordrecht, 1594-1652 (diss., Rostock, 1924)

F. W. H. Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, ca 1450-1700 (Amsterdam, 1949-), v, p. 103

A. Houbraken: De groote schouburgh der nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1718-21), i (1718), pp. 237-8

J. Immerzeel jr: De levens en werken der hollandsche en vlaamsche kunstchilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters van het begin der 15e eeuw tot heden, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1842-3), i, pp. 61-2

C. Kramm: De levens en werken der hollandsche en vlaamsche kunstchilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters van den vroegsten tot op onzen tijd, 7 vols (Amsterdam, 1857-64), p. 310

E. Michel: 'Les Cuyp, une famille d'artistes hollandais', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, vii (1892), pp. 6-19

P. C. Molhuysen and F. H. K. Kossman, eds: Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek (Leiden, 1911-37), viii (1930), col. 356

U. Thieme and F. Becker: Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, 37 vols (Leipzig, 1907-50), viii (1913), p. 280

G. H. Veth: 'Aelbert Cuyp, Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp en Benjamin Cuyp', Oud-Holland, ii (1884), pp. 240-52

--: 'Aanteekeningen omtrent eenige Dordrechtsche schilders', Oud-Holland, vi (1888), pp. 138-40, xxi (1903), pp. 114-15

A. von Wurzbach: Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon auf Grund archivalische Forschungen bearbeitet, 3 vols (Vienna and Leipzig, 1906-11), i, p. 369

1.4 BENJAMIN GERRITSZOOM CUYP

W. Bernt: Die niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts, 3 vols (Munich, 1948), i, nrs 217-8

K. Böstrom: 'Benjamin Cuyp', Konsthistorisk Tidskrift, xiii (1944), pp. 59-74

A. Bredius: 'De boeken van het Leidsche St Lucasgilde', Archief voor nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis, ed. F. D. O. Obreen, 7 vols (Rotterdam, 1877-90, R Soest, 1976), v (1882-3), pp. 176, 177, 179

Dordrecht 1977-8: Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie (exh. cat. by J. M. de Groot, J. G. van Gelder and W. Veerman, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1977-8), pp. 14, 17-18, 42-3, nrs 10-14

I. Ember: 'Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp (1612-52)', Acta Historiae Artium, xxv (1979), pp. 89-141; xxvi (1980), pp. 37-73

J. M. de Groot: 'Een belangrijke aanwinst Aanbidding van de koningen door Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp', Dordrechts Museum Bulletin, x/4-5 (1985)

B. Haak: The golden age: Dutch painters of the seventeenth century (London, 1984), p. 341

A. Houbraken: De groote schouburgh der nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1718-21), i (1718), p. 248

J. Immerzeel jr: De levens en werken der hollandsche en vlaamsche kunstchilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters van het begin der 15e eeuw tot heden, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1842-3), i, p. 62

S. D. Kuretsky: 'Independents and eccentrics', Gods, saints and heroes: Dutch painting in the age of Rembrandt (exh. cat. by A. Blankert et. al., Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1980-81; Detroit, Institute of Arts; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1981), pp. 253-7

W. Martin: Rembrandt en zijn tijd; de hollandsche schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw, ii (Amsterdam, 1936), p. 229

E. Michel: 'Les Cuyp, une famille d'artistes hollandais', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, vii (1892), pp. 20-23

P. C. Molhuysen and F. H. K. Kossman, eds: Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek (Leiden, 1911-37), iii, col. 349

F. D. O. Obreen, ed.: Archief voor nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis, 7 vols (Rotterdam, 1877-90, R Soest, 1976), i (1877-8), p. 208

J. M. Schlichte Bergen: Ten years of Kunsthandel Schlichte Bergen (exh. cat., intro. A. Blankert, Amsterdam, 1989), p. 28

V. de Stuers: 'De lotery van Jan de Bondt, 1649', Archief voor nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis, ed. F. D. O. Obreen, 7 vols (Rotterdam, 1877-90, R Soest, 1976), ii (1879-80), pp. 71-93

U. Thieme and F. Becker: Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, 37 vols (Leipzig, 1907-50), viii (1913), p. 279

G. H. Veth: 'Aelbert Cuyp, Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp en Benjamin Cuyp', Oud-Holland, ii (1884), pp. 253-5

--: 'Aanteekeningen omtrent eenige Dordrechtsche schilders', Oud-Holland, vi (1888), pp. 141-2

A. von Wurzbach: Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon auf Grund archivalische Forschungen bearbeitet, 3 vols (Vienna and Leipzig, 1906-11), i, pp. 368-9, iii, p. 71

2. DORDRECHT

2.1 PRIMARY SOURCES

Archieven van het St Lucasgilde of gilde van vijf neringen, 1367-1795 (Dordrecht, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst)

C. Aurelius: De cronycke van hollandt zeelandt en vriesland ... (R as Divisiechroniek, Leiden, 1517)

M. Balen: Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht (Dordrecht, 1677, R 1966)

J. le Francq van Berkhey: Natuurlijke historie van Holland, i (Amsterdam, 1769), pp. 1, 9-11, 18-19, 175-190

C. Beudeker, ed.: Steedeboek van Holland en Westvriesland, i ([Amsterdam], 1718), ff. 1-12

J. van Beverwijck: Kort bericht om de pest voor te komen: ten dienste van de gemeente der stad Dordrecht (Dordrecht, 1636)

--: Schat der gesontheyt ... (Dordrecht, 1636)

--: Van de wtneementheyte des vrouwlicken geslachts (Dordrecht, 1639)

--: 't Begin van Hollant in Dordrecht (Dordrecht, 1640)

--: Wercken des genees-konste (Dordrecht, 1664)

L. van den Bos: Dordrechtsche arcadia (Dordrecht, 1662)

T. van Bracht: Tuingedachten op den Bloemenhof van A. den Back in zes zangen verdeeld, aan zijn neef Mr Herman van Bracht, heer van Opijnen (Dordrecht, 1754)

T. J. van Bracht: Het bloedigh toneel of martelaars spiegel der doopsgezinde of weerebosc christenen ... (Dordrecht, 1660)

M. Z. Boxhorn: Theatrum sive hollandiae comitatus et urbium nova descriptio (Amsterdam, 1632), pp. 91-123

J. Cats: Alle de wercken, so ouden als nieuwe, van de heer Iacob Cats, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1655)

Dordracum Illustratum (verzameling van kaarten, teekeningen, prenten en portretten betreffende de stad Dordrecht. Bijeengebracht, gerangschikt en beschreven door Mr S. van Gijn), 4 vols (Dordrecht, 1908-12)

W. van Gouthoeven: D'oude chronijcke ende historien van Holland (met West-Friesland) van Zeeland ende van Utrecht (Dordrecht, 1620)

F. Greenwood: Gedichten (Rotterdam, 1719)

L. Guicciardini: Descrittione di tutti i paesi bassi (Antwerp, 1576); Dutch trans. C. Kiliaan, ed. P. Montanus: Beschryvinghe van alle de nederlanden ... (Amsterdam, 1612), pp. 194-7

F. Halma: Toneel der vereenigde Nederlanden, 2 vols (Leeuwarden, 1725), i, pp. 247-53

W. Harris: A description of the King's royal palace and garden at Loo. Together with a short account of Holland (London, 1699), p. 57

S. Ireland: A picturesque tour through Holland, Brabant and part of France, made in the autumn of 1789, 2 vols (London, 1790), i, p. 41

J. ten Hoorn: Reis-boek door de vereenigde nederlandsche provincien en der zelve aangrenzende landschappen en koningrijken (Amsterdam, 1689), pp. 42-50

B. de Monconys: Journal des voyages de B. M. ... (Lyon, 1665), p. 128

J. van Oudenhoeven: Oud-holland - nu zuyt holland (Dordrecht, 1654)

--: Oudt ende nieuw Dordrecht. Behelsende des selfs opkomste, voort-gangh ende regeringe loopende verloop van den Rhijn, Wael, Maes. etc (Haarlem, 1666); rev. as Beschryvinghe van Dordrecht... (Haarlem, 1670)

J. van Someren: 'Groepstyn', 'Wandelingh van Nymegen op Ubbergen', 'In-leydingh op neder-hoven', etc., Uyt-spanning der vernuften (Nijmegen, 1660)

I. Tirion: Tegenwoordige staat der vereenigde Nederlanden, iv, Holland, (Amsterdam, 1742), pp. 285-360

P. J. van de Wall: Handvesten, privilegen, vrijheden, voorrechten, octrooijen en costumen; mitsgaders sententien, verbonden, overeenkomsten, en andere voornaame handelingen der stad Dordrecht ..., 3 vols (Dordrecht, 1790)

2.2 SECONDARY SOURCES

- A. G. Bienfait and M. Kossmann: Oude hollandsche tuinen, 2 vols (The Hague, 1943), i, pp. 263-7; ii, pp. 340-49
- R. Bijlsma: Rotterdams welvaren, 1550-1650 (The Hague, 1918), pp. 142-59
- H. Blink: 'Ontwikkeling en tegenwoordige economische betekenis van Dordrecht', Tijdschrift voor Economische Geografie, xiv (1923), pp. 280-86
- P. Breman: 'Margaretha's ode aan Dordrecht', Kwartaal en Tekens Dordrecht, viii/2 (1982), pp. 7-14
- P. Breman and J. Rijken: Dichters in Dordt (Dordrecht, 1983)
- J. G. C. A. Briels: Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de republiek der vereenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630 (Nieuwkoop, 1974)
- H. M. Broeken: Het ontstaan van de Hoekse en Kabeljauwse twisten (Zutphen, 1982), pp. 263-9
- Brouwershaven 1977: Vier eeuwen Jacob Cats (exh. cat. by L. Strenght et al., Brouwershaven, Tonnen Magazijn; Middelburg, Amdij, 1977)
- A. Curtis: 'Hendrick Speuy and the earliest printed Dutch keyboard music', Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, xix (1960-61), pp. 143-62
- J. L. van Dalen: 'Rederijkers en comedianten in de 2e helft der 17e eeuw te Dordrecht', Oud-Holland, xvii (1899), pp. 47-52
- : Inventaris van het archief der gemeente Dordrecht, i, De grafelijke tijd, 1200-1572 (Dordrecht, 1909)
- : Geschiedenis van Dordrecht, 2 vols (Dordrecht, 1931-3; Schiedam, 2/1987)
- P. Don: Kunstreisboek: Zuid-Holland (Amsterdam, 1985), pp. 85-110
- Dordrecht 1976: Gedrukt in Dordrecht: vier eeuwen boek en prent (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1976)
- Dordrecht 1978a: Beknopte lant-meet-konst der Dordtse landmeter Mattheus van Nispen, c. 1628-1717 (exh. cat. by P. J. Horsman, Dordrecht, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1978)
- S. J. Fockema Andreae: Studien over waterschapsgeschiedenis, 8 vols (Leiden, 1950-52), iii, De Grote of Zuidhollands Waard (1950)

- M. K. E. Gottschalk: 'De St Elisabethsvloed', Spiegel Historiae, vi (1971), pp. 668-75
- : Stormvloeden en rivieroverstromingen in Nederland, 1600-1700 (Amsterdam, 1977)
- P. Hendrix et al.: Dordrecht, stad in de ruimte (The Hague, 1974)
- P. Horsman: 'Het gezicht op Dordrecht van Adam Willaert', Kwartaal en Tekenen Dordrecht, iii/2 (1977), pp. 13-19
- : 'Eilandgeschiedenis in beeld', Kwartaal en Tekenen Dordrecht, vi/1 (1980), pp. 15-16
- G. P. van Itterzon: Franciscus Gomarus (The Hague, 1929)
- N. Japikse: Johan de Witt (Amsterdam, 1915)
- T. Jensma: 'Het huis te Merwede', Kwartaal en Tekenen Dordrecht, ii/6-7 (1976), pp. 7-9
- : 'De Dordtse havens en zeeweg', Kwartaal en Tekenen Dordrecht, v/4 (1979), pp. 1-4
- P. W. Klein: De Trippen in de 17e eeuw (Assen, 1965)
- : 'The Trip family in the 17th century: a study of the behaviour of the entrepreneur on the Dutch staple market', Acta Historiae Neerlandica, i (1966), pp. 187-211
- W. E. Lingelbach: 'Internal organization of the Merchant Adventurers of England', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, n. s., xvi (1902), pp. 19-67
- : 'Merchant Adventurers of England: their laws and ordinances, with other documents', University of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints from Original Sources of European History, n. s., ii (1902)
- C. te Lintum: De Merchant Adventurers in de Nederlanden (The Hague, 1905)
- : Rotterdam in den loop der eeuwen, i (Rotterdam, 1909)
- C. J. P. Lips: Wandelingen door oud-Dordrecht (Zaltbommel, 1974)
- J. MacLean: De huwelijksontekeningen van schotse militairen in Nederland, 1574-1661 (Zutphen, 1976)
- A. K. M. Moerman: 'Daniël Jonckty's - Dordts dokter en dichter', Kwartaal en Tekenen Dordrecht, v/2 (1979), pp. 5-10
- J. C. Overvoorde: Catalogus van de bibliotheek der gemeente

Dordrecht, i, Dordrecht en omstreken (Dordrecht, 1898)

M. P. Rooseboom: The Scottish stapel in the Netherlands (The Hague, 1910), pp. 195-237

C. J. van Rosendaal: Dordrechts verleden op papier met penseel, pen en potlood (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1970)

'De St Elisabethsvloed bij Dordrecht in 1421', Oude Kunst, i (1915-16), pp. 183-6

'Een oude voorstelling van den Sint-Elizabets-vloed van 1421', Tijdschrift Koninklijk Nederlandsche Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, xlii (1925), pp. 133-8

J. Scheltma: 'De Dordtsche dichtschool vòòr den jare 1672', Geschied- en Letterkundig Mengelwerk, iii/3 (1823), pp. 33-152

G. D. J. Schotel: Dordrecht (Dordrecht, 1858)

J. Sels: Beschrijving der stad Dordrecht (Dordrecht, 1854)

H. Smilde: Jacob Cats in Dordrecht: leven en werken gedurende de jaren 1623-1636 (Groningen, 1938)

J. Smits and G. D. J. Schotel: Beschrijving der stad Dordrecht, 2 vols (Dordrecht, 1841-5)

J. A. Smits van Nieuwerkerk: Kort kronijk van Dordrecht (Dordrecht, n.d.)

G. A. S. Snijder: Dordrecht (Vienna, 1920; Dutch and German editions)

W. Spijker et al.: De synode van Dordrecht in 1618 en 1619 (Houten, 1987)

M. E. Stades-Vischer: Het stadhuis te Dordrecht (Dordrecht, 1985)

T. Stol: 'Opkomst en ondergang van de Grote Waard', Holland, xiii/3-4 (1981), pp. 129-45

W. Veerman: 'De Maaqd van Dordrecht staat er weer gekleurd op', Kwartaal en Teken Dordrecht, i/4 (1975), pp. 10-13

H. A. Visscher: Het eiland van Dordrecht: een verkenning van een boeiende streek (Dordrecht, 1986)

C. de Waard, ed.: Journal tenu par Isaac Beeckman de 1604 à 1634, 4 vols (The Hague, 1939-53)

2.3 ART AND ARTISTS

J. Alleblas et al., eds: '800 jaar Dordrecht, de Dortenaren en hun kunst', Ach lieve tijd, xiii (Zwolle, 1986), pp. 299-320

Amsterdam 1986: 'Kunst in Dordrecht', Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: noordnederlandse kunst, 1525-1580 (exh. cat., ed. J. P. Filedt Kok, W. Halsema-Kubes and W. T. Kloek, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1986), pp. 331-3

E. Buijsen: 'De Meester van Rhenen en de Meester van de St-Elisabeth-panelen: niet een maar twee personen', Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum, xxxv (1988), pp. 133-8

H. de Boer: Schilderijen uit de verzameling van Bilderveek (Dordrecht, 1915)

L. J. Bol: 'Schilderijen uit het legaat L. Dupper Wz. (1870) aan het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam', Zeventiende eeuwse meesters uit de collectie Leendert Dupper Wz. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (exh. cat. by L. J. Bol, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1949-50), pp. 3-4

--: 'Twee herontdekte Dordrechtste meesters, Abraham van Calraet en Abraham Susenier', Goede onbekenden, ii, ' (Utrecht, 1982), pp. 14-20

--: 'Aart Schooman, 'overkunstig schilder in oly- en waterverw', Tableau, viii/4 (1986), pp. 68-74; viii/5 (1986), pp. 34-45; viii/6 (1986), 40-45; ix/1 (1986), pp. 56, 74-9; ix/2 (1986), 74-7; ix/3 (1986), pp. 71-3; ix/4 (1987), pp. 43-5; ix/5 (1987), pp. 72, 78-81; x/3 (1987), pp. 73-80; x/4 (1988), pp. 66-9; x/6 (1988), pp. 48-51; [continues]

A. Bredius: 'Een en ander over Dordtsche schilders', Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, xii (1913), pp. 115-124; as booklet (Amsterdam, 1913)

--: 'The still-life painter, Abraham Calraet', Burlington Magazine, xxx (1917), pp. 172-9

--: 'Hoe Joris van der Haagen betaald werd', Oud-Holland, xxxv (1917), p. 128

C. Brière-Mismes: 'Un petit maitre hollandais: Cornelis Bisschop (1630-1674)', Oud Holland, lxx (1950), pp. 24-40, 104-16, 139-51, 178-92, 227-40

J. L. van Dalen: 'De familie van Calraet', Oud-Holland, xlii (1925), pp. 172-5

Dordrecht 1956: De gebroeders van Strij (exh. cat. by L. J. Bol, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1956)

Dordrecht 1960: Aart Schouman (1710-1792) (exh. cat. by L. J. Bol, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1960; Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, 1961)

Dordrecht 1961: Tekeningen van Frans Lebrecht (exh. cat. by L. J. Bol, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1961)

Dordrecht 1975a: Tweehonderd jaar Pictura (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1975)

Dordrecht 1978b: Verzameling van Bilderbeek (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1978)

Dordrecht 1979-80: Ary Scheffer (1795-1858): tekeningen, aquarellen en olieverfschetsen (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1979-80; Paris, Institut Néerlandais, 1980)

Dordrecht 1984-5: 150 jaar Dordtse tekenkunst, 1500-1850 (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1984-5)

Dordrecht 1986: Tussen zonnengoud en kaarslicht; Dordtse meesters, 1780-1840 (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1986)

Dordrecht 1988b: Was getekend Dordrecht: stad en omgeving vereeuwigd door leden van Pictura, 1780-1960 (exh. cat. by J. Alleblas, B. Jintes and P. Schotel, Dordrecht, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1988)

J. Erkelens: 'The brothers Abraham and Jacob van Strij: a biography of two Dordrecht painters', Oud-Holland, xc (1976), pp. 186-200

--: 'Pieter Hofman, 1755-1837', Kwartaal en Teken Dordrecht, xiii/1 (1987), pp. 15-17

--: 'Adriaen Meulemans, 1763-1835', Kwartaal en Teken Dordrecht, xiii/2 (1987), pp. 8-10

--: 'Johan Hendrik Boshamer', Kwartaal en Teken Dordrecht, xiii/4 (1987), pp. 12-16

--: 'Cornelis Kuipers, 1739-1802', Kwartaal en Teken Dordrecht, xiv/24 (1988), pp. 1-4

L. Ewals: Ary Scheffer: sa vie et son oeuvre (diss., Nijmegen, 1987)

T. J. Geest: 'Ary Lamme en zijn nageslacht, een Dordtse schildersfamilie', Vier historische opstellen (Assen, 1959), pp. 13-34

H. Gerson: Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts (Haarlem, 1942), p. 401

--: 'Cornelis Vermeulen (1732-1813)', Oud-Holland, lxix (1954), pp. 247-50

Mrs [H.] Grote: Memoir of the life of Ary Scheffer (London, 1860)

G. J. Hoogewerff: De geschiedenis van de St Lucasgilden in Nederland (Amsterdam, 1947), pp. 185-205

P. J. Horsman: Jacob Hoolaart (1713-1789): oeuvre-catalogus (Dordrecht, 1975)

Naaldwijk 1985: Aart Schouman en zijn werk op de buitenplaatsen Zuydwind en Patijnenburg (exh. cat. by M. C. M. Adrichem et al., Naaldwijk, Oude Pastorie, 1985)

Recklinghausen 1969-70: Niederländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts. Hauptwerk aus Dordrechts Museum (exh. cat., Recklinghausen, Städtische Kunsthalle, 1969-70; Oberhausen, Städtische Galerie Schloss Oberhausen, 1970)

N. de Roever: 'Aert Schouman volgens zijne aantekenboekjes', Oud-Holland, vi (1888), pp. 33-44

P. A. Scheen: Lexikon nederlandse beeldende kunstenaars, 1750-1950 (The Hague, 1981)

G. J. Schweitzer: Catalogus schilderijen Dordrechts Museum II, 1700-1850 (Dordrecht, 1984)

J. A. Smits van Nieuwerkerk: De Dordrechtsche schilderschool, bevattende levensberichten der hollandsche en vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters in Dordrecht geboren of gewoond hebbende van de vroegsten tijd tot op 1 October 1874 (Dordrecht, 1874)

A. Staring: 'De steenhouwer Gillis Huppe (1576-1650) en zijn Dordtsche werken', Oudheidkundig Jaarboek, x (1941), pp. 20-33

W. Sumowski: Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler, 3 vols (Landau, 1983)

P. T. A. Swillens: 'Leven en werken van Arnold Houbraken', De groote schouburgh der nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen, A. Houbraken, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1718-21, rev. 1943-53), ii (1945), pp. iii-xl

G. H. Veth: 'Het Sint Lucas-gild te Dordrecht', Archief voor nederlandse kunstgeschiedenis, ed. F. D. O. Obreen, 7 vols (Rotterdam, 1877-90, R Soest, 1976), i (1877-8), pp. 181-220

--: 'Aanteekeningen omtrent eenige Dordrechtsche schilders', Oud-Holland, v (1887), pp. 155-60 [B. Bisbinck; C., J. and A. Bisschop]; vi (1886), pp. 68-80 [F. and J. Bol], 129-48 [A. van Conicksvelt; R. and I. Covijn; G. G., B. G. and A.

Cuyp], 182-6 [J. Doudyn; A. de Gelder]; vii (1889), pp. 129-48 [S. van Hoogstraten], 298-311 [J. van Hoogstraten; A. Houbraken; G. de Jager; A. van Kalraet; J. van Kuik Woutersz.; J. Levecq]; viii (1890), pp. 23-8 [G. and P. van der Leeuw; P. Lesire], 125-42 [N. Maes]; ix (1891), pp. 31-8 [J. Olis; H. van Ravesteyn]; x (1892), pp. 1-16 [G. Schalcken; A. Schouman; C. Slingelandt]; xii (1894), pp. 107-22 [C. Snellaert; A. Susenier; J. van Teyligen; A. Verbuys]; xiv (1896), pp. 99-112 [P. H. Verelst en zijne zonen]; xvi (1898), pp. 121-6 [P. Weijs de oude en de jonge]; xxi (1903), pp. 111-24 [A. Beeldemaker; B. Bisbinck; C. Bisschop; F. Boll [sic]; J. G. Bornwater; J. G. Cuyp; A. Cuijp; D. Dalens; D. van Delen; A. Eemont; H. van Ravesteyn; A. H. Verveer]

--: 'Iets over de confrerie van St Lucas en de latere kunstgenootschappen te Dordrecht', Archief voor nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis, ed. F. D. O. Obreen, 7 vols (Rotterdam, 1877-90, R Soest, 1976), vii (1888-90), pp. 81-110

P. F. A. Vrolijk: Inventaris van het archief van het tekengenootschap 'Pictura' (Dordrecht, 1973)

--: Inventaris van het familiearchief Repelaer (Dordrecht, 1974)

J. C. Weyerman: De levensbeschrijvingen der nederlandsche konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen, 4 vols (The Hague, 1729-69)

3. CATTLE

3.1 CATTLE HUSBANDRY

D. L. Bakker: Studien über die Geschichte, den heutigen Stand und die Zukunft des Rindes und seiner Zucht in den Niederlanden mit besonderer kritischer Berücksichtigung der Arbeitsweise der niederländischen Rindviehstammbücher (diss., Berne, 1909)

--: 'De herkomst van het nederlandsche vee', Tijdschrift voor Veeartsenijkunde, xli (1914), pp. 1096-1103

--: 'De geschiedenis van het rund', Rundvee, ed. C. H. J. Maliepaard (Amsterdam, 1948), pp. 21-40

R. B. Becker: Dairy cattle breeds, origin and development (Gainsville, 1973)

J. le Francq van Berkhey: Natuurlijke historie van Holland, iv/2 (Leiden, 1779)

T. Bewick: General history of quadrupeds (London, 1790)

F. N. Boekel: De zuivelexport van Nederland tot 1813 (Utrecht, 1929)

E. J. Boston: 'Cattle breeds in Europe and Africa', Man and cattle, eds A. E. Mourant and F. E. Zeuner (London, 1963), pp. 102-10

H. M. and D. M. Briggs: Modern breeds of livestock (London, 4/1980)

A. T. Clason: Animals and man in Holland's past (Groningen, 1967)

--: Jacht en veeteelt van prehistorie tot middeleeuwen (Haarlem, 1977)

--, ed: Zeldzame huisdierrassen (Zutphen, 1980)

J. Clutton-Brock: Domesticated animals from early times (London, 1981, rev. 1988)

H. P. Davis: 'Holstein-Friesians of America', American dairy cattle, ed. E. P. Prentice (New York, 1942), pp. 128-60

A. van Dijk: De boer, de koe en onze zuivelindustrie (Amsterdam, 1983)

C. P. Dogterom: Melk in Nederland (The Hague, 1980)

A. van der Donck et al.: Vertoogh van nieu-neder-land, weghens de ghelegentheydt, vruchtbaerheyd en soberen staet desselfs (The Hague, 1650); English trans. in Narratives of New Nederland, 1607-1664, ed. J. F. Jameson (New York, 1909), pp. 293-354

N. Eekhof-Stork: Spectrum kaasatlas (Utrecht, 1981)

H. Epstein and I. L. Mason: 'Cattle', Evolution of domesticated animals, ed. I. L. Mason (London, 1984), pp. 6-27

M. Felius: Genus Bos: cattle breeds of the world (Rahway, NJ, 1985)

A. Fokkinga: Koeboek (Culemborg, 1985)

M. H. French: European breeds of cattle, 2 vols (Rome, 1966)

J. B. Friend: Cattle of the world (Poole, 1978)

G. E. Fussell: 'The size of English cattle in the eighteenth century', Agricultural History, iii (1929), pp. 160-81

--: The English dairy farmer, 1500-1900 (London, 1966)

G. Garrard: A description of the different varieties of oxen

common in the British Isles (London, 1800)

W. Geldof: 'Zes eeuwen aalstreepfokkerij', Doelmatige Veehouderij, xiii (1964), pp. 136-9

--: 'From urus to eelstripe', The Ark, ii (1975), pp. 60-63

--: 'Iets over de geschiedenis der lakenvelders', Zeldzaam Huisdier, 2 (1977), pp. 4-12

--: 'Bronnen van kennis van het nederlandse rund', Zeldzaam Huisdier, 2 (1982), pp. 57-8

--: De koe bij de horens gevat (Utrecht, 1984)

H. G. Hamaker: 'De rekening der grafelijkheid van Holland onder het Henegouwsche huis', Werken uitgeven door het Historisch Genootschap, 2 vols, n. s., xxi (1875-6), i, pp. 359-66, 371-2

G. J. Hengeveld: Het rundvee, zijne verschillende soorten, rassen en veredeling, 2 vols (Haarlem, 1865-70)

J. F. Jameson, ed.: Narratives of New Nederland, 1609-1664 (New York, 1909)

J. Joor: 'Boeren onder druk, 1650-1800', Agrarische geschiedenis van Nederland van prehistorie tot heden, P. C. M. Hoppenbrouwers et al. (The Hague, 1986), pp. 58-81

B. W. van de Kloot Meyburg: De economische ontwikkeling van een zuid-hollandsch dorp (Oudshoorn) tot in den aanvang der twintigste eeuw (The Hague, 1920)

R. Lydekker: The ox and its kindred (London, 1912)

I. L. Mason: A dictionary of livestock breeds (Farnham Royal, Bucks, 1969)

B. McCay: 'Continental cattle history', The Ark, xi/6 (1984), pp. 167-71

D. Minkema and J. de Rooy: 'Kleuren en aftekeningen bij runderen', Zeldzaam Huisdier, 2 (1982), pp. 52-7

L. Moll and E. Gayot: La connaissance générale du boeuf (Paris, 1860), pp. 484-94

F. Moryson: An itinerary of ten yeeres travell (London, 1617)

A. E. Mourant and F. E. Zeuner, eds: Man and cattle (London, 1963)

Netherlands Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries: Agriculture in the Netherlands (The Hague, 1962)

- L. Noordegraaf: Nederlandse marktsteden (Utrecht/Amsterdam, 1983)
- E. P. Prentice: Breeding profitable dairy cattle (London, 1935)
- : American dairy cattle (New York, 1942)
- M. S. Prescott, F. T. Price, H. H. Wing and W. A. Prescott: Holstein-Friesian history (New York, 1930)
- H. K. Roessingh: 'De berekening van de melkopbrengst', Agronomisch-Historisch Bijdragen, iv (1958), pp. 131-2
- J. E. Rouse: World cattle, 3 vols (Norman, OK, 1969-73)
- Z. W. Sneller: Geschiedenis van de nederlandse landbouw, 1795-1940 (Groningen, 1951)
- J. J. Spahr van der Hoek and O. Postma: Geschiedenis van der Friese landbouw, 2 vols (Leeuwarden, 1952)
- J. K. Stanford: British Friesians (London, 1956)
- R. Trow-Smith: A history of British livestock husbandry to 1700 (London, 1957)
- : A history of British livestock husbandry, 1700-1900 (London, 1959)
- : Life from the land: the growth of farming in western Europe (London, 1967)
- P. J. Ucko and G. W. Dimbleby, eds: The domestication and exploitation of plants and animals (London, 1969)
- J. Urquhart: Animals on the farm (London, 1983)
- J. de Vries: The Dutch rural economy in the golden age, 1500-1700 (London, 1974)
- C. Wheaton-Smith: 'Cattle breeds - a study in progressive hybridisation', Man and cattle, eds A. E. Mourant and F. E. Zeuner (London, 1963), pp. 56-67
- F. E. Zeuner: A history of domesticated animals (London, 1963)

3.2 AGRICULTURE

- C. Baars: De geschiedenis van de landbouw in de Beijerland, 2 vols (Wageningen, 1973)
- : 'Boekhoudingen van landbouwbedrijven in de Hoeksewaard

uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', A. A. G. Bijdragen, xix (1975), pp. 3-136

H. Blink: Geschiedenis van den boerenstand en den landbouw in Nederland, 2 vols (Groningen, 1902)

G. E. Fussell: The classical tradition in western European farming (Newton Abbott, 1972)

P. C. M. Hoppenbrouwers: 'Een moeilijk begin in de landbouw: prehistorie en middeleeuwen', Agrarische geschiedenis van Nederland van prehistorie tot heden, P. C. M. Hoppenbrouwers et al. (The Hague, 1986), pp. 9-35

C. Lesger: 'Regionale tegenstellingen tijdens een periode van expansie, 1500-1650', Agrarische geschiedenis van Nederland van prehistorie tot heden, P. C. M. Hoppenbrouwers et al. (The Hague, 1986), pp. 36-57

H. K. Roessingh: 'Landbouw in de noordelijke Nederlanden, 1650-1815', Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden, eds D. P. Blok et al., viii (Haarlem, 1979), pp. 16-72

B. H. Slicher van Bath: 'Een Fries landbouwbedrijf in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw', Agronomisch-Historisch Bijdragen, iv (1958), pp. 67-130

--: 'The rise of intensive husbandry in the Low Countries', Britain and the Netherlands, eds J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann, i (1960), pp. 130-53

--: 'Accounts and diaries of farmers before 1800 as a source for agricultural history', A. A. G. Bijdragen, viii (1962), pp. 1-33

--: The agrarian history of western Europe, 500-1850 (London, 1963)

--: Bijdragen tot de agrarische geschiedenis (Utrecht, 1978)

J. Thirsk, ed.: The agrarian history of England and Wales, iv, 1640-1750: agrarian change (Cambridge, 1985)

J. de Vries: The Dutch rural economy in the golden age, 1500-1700 (London, 1974)

--: 'Landbouw in de noordelijke Nederlanden, 1490-1650', Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden, eds D. P. Blok et al., vii (Haarlem, 1980), pp. 11-37

--: 'The Dutch rural economy and the landscape, 1590-1650', Dutch landscape: the early years (exh. cat. by C. Brown, London, National Gallery, 1986), pp. 79-86

H. van der Wee and E. van der Cauwenberghe, eds: Productivity of land and agricultural innovation in the Low

Countries, 1250-1800 (Leuven, 1978)

A. M. van der Woude: 'Het noorderkwartier', A. A. G. Bijdragen, 3 vols, xvi (1972)

3.3 CATTLE IMAGES

Animals in early art, Ashmolean Museum, Dept of Antiquities (Oxford, 1978)

Antwerp 1982: Het aards paradijs (exh. cat., Antwerp, Zoo, 1982)

A. Balis: 'Facetten van de vlaamse dierschilderkunst van de 15de tot de 17de eeuw', Het aards paradijs (exh. cat., Antwerp, Zoo, 1982), pp. 37-55

A. Blankert: 'Over Pieter van Laer als dier en landschapschilder', Oud-Holland, lxxxiii (1968), pp. 117-34

D. H. Boalch: Prints and drawings of British farm livestock, 1780-1910; a record of the Rothamsted collection (Harpenden, 1958)

J. Boudet: Man and beast, a visual history (London, 1964)

A.-C. Buysschaert: 'Roelant Savery als Tiermaler', Roelant Savery in seiner Zeit (1576-1639) (exh. cat., Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1985; Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 1985-6), pp. 51-4

M. Camille: 'Labouring for the Lord: the ploughman and social order in the Luttrell Psalter', Art History, x (1987), pp. 423-54

A. Chong: 'In 't verbeelden van slachtdieren', Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1988; Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, 1988-9), pp. 56-86

K. Clark: Animals and man (London, 1977)

J. de Coo: De boer in de kunst van de 9e tot de 19e eeuw (Rotterdam, 1945)

K. M. Craig: 'Pieter Aertsen and The meat stall', Oud-Holland, xcvi (1982), pp. 1-15

Dordrecht 1988a: Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1988; Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, 1988-9)

H. Jedding: Der Tiermaler Joh. Heinr. Roos (1631-1685) (Strasbourg, 1955)

- R. Klessmann: 'Die Anfänge des Bauerninterieurs bei den Brüdern Ostade', Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen, ii (1960), pp. 92-115
- F. Klingender: Animals in thought and art (London, 1971)
- C. Lloyd: Piero di Cosimo's 'Forest fire' (Oxford, 1984)
- P. J. Meertens: De lof van de boer: de boer in de noord- en zuidnederlandsche letterkunde van de middeleeuwen tot 1800 (Amsterdam, 1942)
- K. J. Müllenmeister: 'Das Stallinterieur als eigenständiges Genre', Roelant Savery in seiner Zeit (1576-1639) (exh. cat., Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1985; Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 1985-6), pp. 46-50
- New York 1940-41: The animal kingdom (exh. cat., New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1940-41)
- E. Panofsky: 'The early history of man in two cycles of paintings by Piero di Cosimo', Studies in iconology: humanistic themes in the art of the Renaissance (New York, 1939), pp. 33-67, pl. XV
- Rotterdam 1974: Het dier in de prentkunst, XVe-XVIIe eeuw (exh. cat., Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1974)
- J. Rawson, ed.: Animals in art (London, 1977)
- J. Spicer: 'De koe voor d'aerde statt': the origins of the Dutch cattle piece', Essays in northern European art presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann (Doornspijk, 1983), pp. 251-6
- L. Strenghtolt: De dichter van 'Bauw-heers wel-leven', Pieter Janssoon Schaghen (Leiden, 1977)
- P. Sutton: 'The noblest of livestock', J. Paul Getty Museum Journal, xv (1987), pp. 97-110
- A. L. Walsh: Paulus Potter: his works and their meaning (diss., Columbia University, 1985)
- L. Wuyts: 'Lucas van Leydens Melkmeid, een prove tot iconologische interpretatie', De Gulden Passer, lii-iii (1974-5), pp. 441-53

4. GENERAL ART HISTORY

4.1 ICONOGRAPHY AND SUBJECT-MATTER

- Aesop: Aesop's fables, Eng. trans. G. F. Townsend (London, [1906])

S. Alpers: The art of describing (London, 1983); review by E. de Jongh in Simiolus, xiv (1984), pp. 51-9

Amsterdam 1965-6: Arm in de gouden eeuw (exh. cat., Amsterdam, Historisch Museum, 1965-6)

Amsterdam 1976: Tot lering en vermaak: betekenissen van hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw (exh. cat., ed. E. de Jongh et al., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1976)

Amsterdam 1978a: Opkomst en bloei van het noordnederlandse stadsgezicht in de 17de eeuw (exh. cat., Amsterdam, Historisch Museum; Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, 1978)

Amsterdam 1978b: Het land van Holland. Ontwikkeling in het noord en zuidhollandse landschap (Amsterdam, Historisch Museum, 1978)

Amsterdam 1987-8a: Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (exh. cat. by P. C. Sutton et al., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1987-8; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Philadelphia, Museum of Art, 1988); reviews by C. Brown in Simiolus, xviii (1988), pp. 76-81; E. de Jongh in NRC Handelsblad, Cultureel Supplement, 23 October 1987, p. 3

Amsterdam 1987-8b: Land & water in de 17de eeuw (exh. cat. by M. Schapelhouman and P. Schatborn, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, 1987-8)

Ann Arbor 1964: Italy through Dutch eyes. Dutch seventeenth century landscape artists in Italy (exh. cat., Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1964)

Auckland 1982: Still-life in the age of Rembrandt (exh. cat. by E. de Jongh, Auckland, City Art Gallery, 1982)

J. Barrell: The idea of landscape and the sense of place, 1730-1840 (Cambridge, 1972)

--: The dark side of the landscape (Cambridge, 1980)

R. Barthes: Writing degree zero and Elements of sociology (London, 1967)

--: Mythologies (London, 1972)

T. J. Beening: Het landschap in de nederlandse letterkunde van de Renaissance (diss., Nijmegen, 1963)

A. Bengtsson: 'Studies on the rise of realistic landscape painting in Holland, 1600-1625', Figura, iii (1952)

J. Berger: Ways of seeing (London, 1972)

E. Bergveld: 'Het hollandse landschap in de kunst', Holland,

x/3 (1978), pp. 135-56

E. de Bièvre: The decoration of town halls in the United Provinces: a study of style and iconography (diss., London University, Courtauld Institute, 1986)

P. Bourdieu: Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste (London, 1984); review by T. Gretton in Oxford Art Journal, viii/2 (1985), pp. 63-7

Braunschweig 1978: Die Sprache der Bilder. Realität und Bedeutung in der Niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts (exh. cat., Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1978)

Breda 1960-61: Het landschap in de Nederlanden 1550-1630; van Pieter Bruegel tot Rubens en Hercules Seghers (exh. cat., Breda, De Beyerd, 1960-61; Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1961)

J. Bruyn: 'Toward a scriptural reading of seventeenth century Dutch landscape paintings', Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (exh. cat. by P. C. Sutton et al., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1987-8; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Philadelphia, Museum of Art, 1988), pp. 84-103

N. Bryson: Vision and painting (London, 1983)

K. Clark: Landscape into art (London, 1949)

Cologne 1981: Wort und Bild: Buchkunst und Druckgraphik in den Niederlanden im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert (exh. cat. by H. J. Raupp, Cologne, Belgischen Haus, 1981)

F. Cundall: The landscape and pastoral painters of Holland: Ruysdael, Hobbema, Cuijp, Potter (London, 1891)

Dordrecht 1963: Nederlandse landschappen uit de zeventiende eeuw (exh. cat. by L. J. Bol, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1963)

Dordrecht 1964: Zee-, rivier- en oevergezichten (exh. cat. by L. J. Bol, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1964)

J. A. Emmens: Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst (Utrecht, 1968)

C. Ford: 'The lie of the land', Dutch Crossing, xxvi (1985), pp. 10-32

D. Freedberg: Dutch landscape prints of the seventeenth century (London, 1980)

R. Freeman: English emblem books (London, 1948)

R. H. Fuchs: 'Over het landschap. Een verslag naar

aanleiding van Jacob van Ruisdaels Het korenveld,
Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, lxxxvi (1973), pp. 281-92

E. H. Gombrich: Art and illusion (London, 1956)

--: 'The Renaissance theory of art and the rise of
landscape', Norm and form (London, 1966), pp. 107-21, 150-53

--: 'The 'what' and the 'how': perspective representation
and the phenomenal world', Logic and art: essays in honor of
Nelson Goodman, eds R. Rudner and I. Scheffer (Indianapolis,
1972), pp. 129-49

T. Grettton: 'New lamps for old', The new art history, eds F.
Borzello and A. Rees (London, 1986), pp. 63-74

A. Grosjean: 'Towards an interpretation of Pieter Aertsen's
profane iconography', Konsthistorisk Tidskrift, xliii
(1974), pp. 121-43

Haarlem 1986: Portretten van echt en trouw (exh. cat. by E.
de Jongh, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum, 1986)

The Hague 1970-71: 'Shock of recognition': the landscape of
English Romanticism and the Dutch seventeenth century school
(exh. cat., The Hague, Mauritshuis, 1970-71; London, Tate
Gallery, 1971)

E. Haverkamp-Begemann and A. Chong: 'Dutch landscape and its
associations', The royal picture gallery Mauritshuis, ed. H.
R. Hoetink (New York, 1985), pp. 56-67

P. Hecht: 'The debate on symbol and meaning in Dutch
seventeenth-century art: an appeal to common sense',
Simiolus, xvi (1986), pp. 173-87

A. Henkel and A. Schöne, eds: Emblemata (Stuttgart, 1967)

's Hertogenbosch 1984: Herinneringen aan Italië: kunst en
toerisme in de 18de eeuw (exh. cat., ed. R. de Leeuw, 's
Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum, 1984)

E. de Jongh: Zinne- en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van
de zeventiende eeuw (Amsterdam, 1967)

--: 'Erotica in vogelperspectief', Simiolus, iii (1968-9),
pp. 22-74

--: 'Réalisme et réalisme apparent dans le peintre
hollandais du 17e siècle', Rembrandt et son temps (exh.
cat., Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1971), pp. 143-94

--: 'Grape symbolism in paintings of the 16th and 17th
centuries', Simiolus, vii (1974), pp. 166-91

--: 'The interpretation of still-life paintings:

possibilities and limits', Still-life in the age of Rembrandt (exh. cat. by E. de Jongh, Auckland, City Art Gallery, 1982), pp. 27-37

A. M. Kettering: The Dutch Arcadia (Montclair, NJ, 1983)

E. Kirschbaum et al.: Lexicon der Christliche Ikonographie, 8 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1968-76)

J. B. Knipping: Iconography of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands: heaven on earth, 2 vols (Nieuwkoop/Leiden, 1974)

J. Landwehr: Dutch emblem books (Utrecht, 1962)

--: Emblem books in the Low Countries, 1554-1949: a bibliography (Utrecht, 1970); rev. as Emblem and fable books printed in the Low Countries, 1542-1813 (Utrecht, 3/1988)

R. W. Lee: 'Ut pictura poesis: the humanistic theory of painting', Art Bulletin, xxii (1947), pp. 197-269

R. de Leeuw: 'Towards a new landscape art', The Hague school: Dutch masters of the 19th century (exh. cat. by R. de Leeuw, J. Sillevius and C. Dumas, Paris, Grand Palais; The Hague, Gemeentemuseum; London, Royal Academy, 1983), pp. 51-76

London 1973-4: Landscape in Britain, c. 1750-1850 (exh. cat., London, Tate Gallery, 1973-4)

London 1986: Dutch landscape: the early years (exh. cat. by C. Brown, London, National Gallery, 1986)

J. Luyken: De bykorf des gemoeds (Amsterdam, 1711)

J. C. J. Metford: Dictionary of Christian lore and legend (London, 1983)

H. Miedema: 'Over het realisme in de nederlandse schilderkunst van de 17de eeuw', Oud-Holland, c (1975), pp. 2-18

--: 'Realism and the comic mode: the peasant', Simiolus, ix (1977), pp. 205-19

H. J. van Miegroet: 'The twelve months reconsidered: how a drawing by Pieter Stevens clarifies a Bruegel enigma', Simiolus, xvi (1986), pp. 29-35

W. J. T. Mitchell: Iconology (Chicago, 1986)

E. W. Moes: Iconographia Batava, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1897)

K. J. Müllenmeister: Meer und Land im Licht des 17. Jahrhunderts, ii-iii, Tierdarstellungen in Werken

Niederländischen Künstler (Bremen, 1978-81)

E. Panofsky: Meaning in the visual arts (Harmondsworth, 1955)

--: Studies in iconology: humanistic themes in the art of the Renaissance (New York, 1939), pp. 33-68

D. Pearsall and E. Salter: Landscapes and seasons of the medieval world (London, 1973)

Philadelphia 1984: Masters of seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting (exh. cat., ed. P. C. Sutton, Philadelphia, Museum of Art; W. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen; London, Royal Academy, 1984)

A. Figler: Barockthemen 2 vols (Budapest, 1956; 3 vols, 2/1974)

Pittsburgh 1986: Gardens of earthly delight: sixteenth and seventeenth century Netherlandish gardens (exh. cat. by K. J. Hellerstedt, Pittsburgh, Frick Art Museum, 1986)

K. Porteman: Inleiding tot de nederlandse emblemataliteratuur (Groningen, 1977)

M. Praz: Studies in seventeenth century imagery, 2 vols (London, 1939-47); rev. Rome, 1974.

-- and H. Sayles: Supplement: comparative table of Landwehr's bibliographies, 1962 and 1970 (Rome, 1975)

H. J. Raupp: 'Zur Bedeutung von Thema und Symbol für die holländische Landschaftsmalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts', Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg, xvii (1980), pp. 85-110

E. K. J. Reznicek: 'Realism as a side road or byway in Dutch art', Acts of the 20th International Congress of the History of Art, ii, Renaissance and Mannerism: studies in western art (Princeton, 1963), pp. 247-53

M. Royalton-Kisch: Adriaen van de Venne's album (London, 1988)

M. Russell: Visions of the sea: Hendrick C. Vroom and the origins of Dutch marine painting (Leiden, 1983)

Salzburg 1986: Die Niederländer in Italien: italianisante Niederländer des 17. Jahrhunderts aus österreichischem Besitz (exh. cat. by R. Trnek, Salzburg, Residenzgalerie; Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, 1986)

S. Schama: The embarrassment of riches (London, 1987); review by J. Israel in Times Literary Supplement, 4416 (20-

26 November 1987), pp. 1267-8

--: 'Dutch landscapes: culture as foreground', Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (exh. cat. by P. C. Sutton et al., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1987-8; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Philadelphia, Museum of Art, 1988), pp. 64-83

M. A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen: 'Nature and landscape in Dutch literature of the golden age', Dutch landscape: the early years (exh. cat. by C. Brown, London, National Gallery, 1986), pp. 72-8

C. W. Schloss: Travel, trade and temptation: the Dutch Italianate harbour scene, 1640-1680 (Ann Arbor, 1982)

E. J. Sluijter: De 'heydensche fabulen' in de noordnederlandse schilderkunst circa 1590-1670 (Leiden, 1986)

W. Stechow: Dutch landscape painting of the seventeenth century (London, 1966); review by A. Blankert in Simiolus, ii (1967-8), pp. 103-8

C. Tümpel: 'The iconography of the Pre-Rembrandtists', The Pre-Rembrandtists (exh. cat. by A. Tümpel, Sacramento, Crocker Art Gallery, 1974), pp. 127-50

C. van de Velde: 'Het aards paradijs in de beeldende kunsten', Het aards paradijs (exh. cat., Antwerp, Zoo, 1982), pp. 17-34

E. van der Vossen: 'De maandreeks van Pieter Bruegel den ouden', Oud-Holland, lxvi (1951), pp. 103-16

L. Vergara: Rubens and the poetics of landscape (New Haven, 1982)

A. de Vries: Dictionary of symbols and imagery (London, 1974)

A. G. C. de Vries: De nederlandsche emblemata: geschiedenis en bibliografie tot de 18de eeuw (Utrecht, 1976)

H. van der Waal: Drie eeuwen vaderlandsche geschied-uitbeelding, 1500-1800: een iconologisch studie, 2 vols (The Hague, 1952)

--: Decimal index of the art of the Low Countries (The Hague, 2/1971)

--: Iconclass, 16 vols (Amsterdam, 1973-85)

E. J. Walford: Jacob van Ruysdael and the perception of landscape (diss., Cambridge, 1981)

Washington 1980-81: Gods, saints and heroes: Dutch painting in the age of Rembrandt (exh. cat. by A. Blankert et. al., Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1980-91; Detroit, Institute of Arts; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1981)

G. R. Wasserman: Roland Barthes (Boston, 1981)

J. Welu: Vermeer and cartography (diss., Boston, 1977)

--: 'Vermeer: his cartographic sources', Art Bulletin, lvii (1975), pp. 529-47

J. White: The birth and rebirth of pictorial space (London, 2/1967)

T. H. White: The book of beasts (London, 1954)

W. Wiegand: Ruisdael-Studien; een Versuch zur Ikonologie der Landschaftsmalerie (diss., Hamburg, 1971)

R. Williams: The country and the city (London, 1973)

P. J. Winter: 'De hollandse tuin', Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, lxviii (1957), pp. 29-122

R. Wollheim: Art and its objects (Cambridge, 2/1980)

L. Wuyts: 'Lucas van Leydens Melkmeid, een proeve tot ikonologische interpretatie', De Gulden Passer, lii-iii (1974-5), pp. 441-53

4.2 OTHER STUDIES

W. Adler: Landscapes, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, xviii/1 (Oxford, 1982)

Amsterdam 1984: Prijs de lijst: de hollandse schilderijlist in de zeventiende eeuw (exh. cat. by P. J. J. van Thiel and C. J. de Bruyn Kops, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1984)

Amsterdam 1986: Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: noord-nederlandse kunst, 1525-1580, 2 vols (exh. cat., ed. J. P. Filedt Kok, W. Halsema-Kubes and W. T. Kloek, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1986)

H.-U. Beck: Jan van Goyen: 1596-1656, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1972-3)

O. T. Banks: Watteau and the north (New York, 1977)

Basel 1987: Im Licht Hollands: Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein und aus Schweizer Besitz (exh. cat. by P. ten-Doesschate Chu, Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1987)

C. Bille: Der tempel der kunst of het kabinet van den heer Braamcamp (Amsterdam, 1961)

J. Bolten: Method and practice: Dutch and Flemish drawing books, 1600-1750 (Landau, 1985)

Boston 1980-81: Printmaking in the age of Rembrandt (exh. cat. by C. S. Ackley, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1980-81; St Louis, Art Museum, 1981)

A. Blunt: Nicolas Poussin, 2 vols (London, 1967)

C. Brisac: A thousand years of stained glass (London, 1986)

Brussels 1971: Rembrandt et son temps (exh. cat., Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1971)

J. Bruyn: 'Een onderzoek naar 17de eeuwse schilderei formaten voornamelijk in Noordnederland', Oud-Holland, xciii (1979), pp. 96-115

J. Bruyn et al.: A corpus of Rembrandt paintings, 2 vols (Dordrecht, 1982-6)

A. Chong: 'The market for landscape painting in seventeenth century Holland', Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting (exh. cat. by P. C. Sutton et al., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1987-8; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Philadelphia, Museum of Art, 1988), pp. 104-20

Cologne 1985: Roelant Savery in seiner Zeit (1576-1639) (exh. cat., Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1985; Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 1985-6)

Delft 1964-5: De schilder in zijn wereld: van Jan van Eyck tot van Gogh en Ensor (exh. cat., Delft, Het Prinsenhof, 1964-5; Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1965)

Dordrecht 1988a: Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders, 1600-1900 (exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1988; Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, 1988-9)

B. Dubbe and W. H. Vroom: 'Patronage and the art market in the Netherlands during the sixteenth century', Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: noordnederlandse kunst, 1525-1580 (exh. cat., ed. J. P. Filedt Kok, W. Halsema-Kubes and W. T. Kloek, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1986), pp. 29-37

H. Floerke: Studien zur niederländischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte: die Formen des Kunsthandels, das Atelier und die Sammler in den Niederlanden vom 15-18 Jahrhundert (Leipzig, 1905; R Soest, 1972)

D. Freedberg: 'Art and iconoclasm 1525-1580: the case of the

northern Netherlands', Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: noordnederlandse kunst, 1525-1580 (exh. cat., ed. J. P. Filedt Kok, W. Halsema-Kubes and W. T. Kloek, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1986), pp. 69-84

W. H. Friedman: Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery (New York, 1976)

J. G. van Gelder: 'Rubens in Holland in de 17de eeuw', Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, iii (1950-51), pp. 103-50

Haarlem 1986: Op zoek naar de gouden eeuw: nederlandse schilderkunst, 1800-1850 (exh. cat. by L. van Tilborgh and G. Jansen, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum, 1986)

The Hague 1965: Meesters van de Haagse school (exh. cat., The Hague, Gemeentemuseum, 1965)

The Hague 1974: Gerard ter Borch (exh. cat., The Hague, Mauritshuis; Münster, Landesmuseum, 1974)

The Hague 1981-2: Jacob van Ruisdael 1628/9-1682 (exh. cat. by S. Slive and H. R. Hoetink, The Hague, Mauritshuis, 1981-2; Cambridge, MA, Fogg Art Museum, 1982)

F. Haskell: Patrons and painters (London, 1963, 2/1980), pp. 3-23

--: Rediscoveries in art (London, 1976)

E. Haverkamp-Begemann: 'The state of research in northern Baroque art', Art Bulletin, lxxix/4 (1987), pp. 510-19

J. Hayes: 'British patrons and landscape painting', Apollo, lxxxii (1965), pp. 38-45; lxxxiii (1966), pp. 187-97, 444-51; lxxxiv (1967), pp. 254-59, 358-65

J. J. M. Heeren: 'Het 'Panpoëticon Batavum'', Oud-Holland, xxxvii (1919), pp. 230-40

G. J. Hoogewerff: De geschiedenis van de St Lucasgilden in Nederland (Amsterdam, 1947)

--: De Bentvueghels (The Hague, 1952)

R. A. d'Hulst: Jacob Jordaens (London, 1982)

E. Koolhaas-Grosfeld: 'De herontdekking van de 17de-eeuwse hollandse schilderkunst', Op zoek naar de gouden eeuw (exh. cat. by L. van Tilborgh and G. Jansen, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum, 1986), pp. 28-49

T. Laurentius, J. W. Niemeijer and G. J. Ploos van Amstel, eds: Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, 1726-1798: kunstverzamelaar en prentuitgever (Assen, 1980)

Leeuwarden 1979: In het zadel: het nederlandse ruiterportret van 1550 tot 1900 (exh. cat. by C. Dumas, Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, 1979; 's Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum; Assen, Provinciaal Museum van Drenthe, 1980)

L. W. Lippincott: Selling art in Georgian London: the rise of Arthur Pond (New Haven/London, 1983)

London 1964: The orange and the rose: Holland and Britain in the age of observation, 1600-1750 (exh. cat., London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1964)

London 1976: Art in seventeenth century Holland (exh. cat. ed. C. Brown, London, National Gallery, 1976)

London 1977: Jan van Goyen, 1596-1656 (exh. cat., London, Alan Jacobs Gallery, 1977)

London 1980: Gaspard Duqhet called Gaspar Poussin, 1615-75 (exh. cat., London, Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, 1980)

London 1982-3: Richard Wilson (exh. cat. by D. H. Solkin, London, Tate Gallery, 1982-3; Cardiff, National Museum of Wales; New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, 1983)

A. W. Lowenthal: Joachim Wtewael (Doornspijk, 1986)

R. H. Marijnissen: Bruegel: het volledig oeuvre (Antwerp, 1988)

W. Martin: 'The life of a Dutch artist in the seventeenth century', Burlington Magazine, vii (1905), pp. 125-8, 416-27; viii (1905-6), pp. 13-24; x (1906), pp. 144-54; xi (1907), pp. 357-69

--: De hollandsche schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1935-6)

H. Miedema: 'Kunstschilders, gilde en academie. Over het probleem van de emancipatie van de kunstschilders in de noordelijke Nederlanden van de 16de en 17de eeuw', Oud-Holland, ci (1987), pp. 1-34

Minneapolis 1971: Dutch masterpieces from the eighteenth century: paintings and drawings, 1700-1800 (exh. cat. ed. E. R. Mandle, Minneapolis, Institute of Arts, 1971; Toledo, Museum of Art, 1971-2; Philadelphia, Museum of Art, 1972)

J. M. Montias: Artists and artisans in Delft: a socioeconomic study of the seventeenth century (Princeton, 1982)

--: 'Cost and value in seventeenth century Dutch art', Art History, x (1987), pp. 455-66

J. W. Niemeijer: Cornelis Troost: 1696-1750 (Assen, 1973)

J. Nieuwstraten: 'De ontwikkeling van Herman Saftlebens kunst tot 1650', Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, xvi (1965), pp. 81-117

Paris 1983: The Hague school: Dutch masters of the 19th century (exh. cat. by R. de Leeuw, J. Sillevius and C. Dumas, Paris, Grand Palais; The Hague, Gemeentemuseum; London, Royal Academy, 1983)

Paris 1986: De Rembrandt à Vermeer: les peintres hollandais au Mauritshuis de la Haye (exh. cat. by B. Broos, Paris, Grand Palais, 1986)

L. de Pauw-de Veen: De begrippen 'schilder', 'schilderij' en 'schilderen' in de zeventiende eeuw (Brussels, 1969)

J. Pleysters: 'The materials and techniques of seventeenth century Dutch painting', Art in seventeenth century Holland (exh. cat. ed. C. Brown, London, National Gallery, 1976), pp. 5-7

J. M. G. van der Poel: 'Gebrandschilderd glas in nederlandse boerderijen', Antiek, i/6 (1966-7), pp. 11-19

Providence 1984: Children of Mercury: the education of artists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (exh. cat., Providence, RI, Bell Gallery, List Art Center, 1984)

I. Q. van Regteren Altena: Jacques de Gheyn: three generations, 3 vols (The Hague, 1983)

G. Reitlinger: The economics of taste, 3 vols (London, 1961-70)

Rotterdam 1946: Cornelis Troost en zijn tijd (exh. cat., Rotterdam, Museum Boymans, 1946)

Rotterdam 1974: Willem Buytewech, 1591-1624 (exh. cat. by J. Giltay et al.; intro. E. Haverkamp-Begemann, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1974; Paris, Institut Néerlandais, 1974-5)

Sacramento 1974: The Pre-Rembrandtists (exh. cat. by A. Tümpel, Sacramento, Crocker Art Gallery, 1974)

W. Schulz: Cornelis Saftleven, 1607-1681. Leben und Werken mit einem kritische Katalog der Gemälde und Zeichnungen (Berlin, 1978)

E. J. Sluijter: 'Hendrik Willem Schweikhardt (1746-1797); een Haagse schilder in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw', Oud-Holland, lxxxix (1975), pp. 142-212

A. Tümpel: 'Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert', Oud-Holland,

lxxxviii (1974), pp. 1-163, 254-90

Utrecht 1965: Nederlandse 17e eeuwse italianiserende landschapschilders (exh. cat. by A. Blankert, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 1965; rev. Soest, 1978)

Utrecht 1986: Nieuw licht op de gouden eeuw: Hendrik Terbruggen en tijdgenoten (exh. cat. by A. Blankert, L. Slatkes et al., Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 1986; Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1987)

Washington 1983: The prints of Lucas van Leyden and his contemporaries (exh. cat. by E. S. Jacobowitz and S. L. Stepanek, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1983)

Washington 1986: The age of Bruegel: Netherlandish drawings in the sixteenth century (exh. cat. by J. O. Hand et al., Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1986)

Zwolle 1957: Hendrick ten Oever: een vergeten Overijssels meester uit den zeventiende eeuw (exh. cat. by J. Verbeek and J. W. Schotman, Zwolle, Provinciaal Overijssels Museum, 1957)

4.3 GENERAL SOURCES

A. Bartsch: Le peintre-graveur, 21 vols (Vienna, 1821)

E. Bénézit, ed.: Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs, 10 vols (Paris, 1913-22, rev. 3/1976)

L. J. Bol: Holländische Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts, nahe den grossen Meistern (Braunschweig, 1969)

G. Brom: Schilderkunst en litteratuur in de 16e en 17e eeuw (Utrecht, 1957)

R. van Eynden and A. van der Willigen: Geschiedenis der vaderlandsche schilderkunst sedert de helft der XVIII eeuw, 4 vols (Haarlem, 1816-40)

E. H. Gombrich: The story of art (London, 14/1984)

J. van Gool: De nieuwe schouburg der nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderessen, 2 vols (The Hague, 1751)

I. de Groot: Landscape etchings by the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century (London, 1979)

B. Haak: The golden age: Dutch painters of the seventeenth century (London, 1984)

F. W. H. Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, ca 1450-1700 (Amsterdam, 1949-)

- G. J. Hoogewerff: Nederlandsche kunstenaars te Rome, 1600-1725 (The Hague, 1942)
- S. van Hoogstraten: Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilder-konst; anders de zichtbaere werelt (Rotterdam, 1678)
- F. Iunius: De pictura veterum libri tres (Amsterdam, 1637); Eng. trans. The painting of the ancients in three books (London, 1638); Dutch trans. Schilder-boeck behelsende de schilder-konst der oude... (Middelburg, 1641)
- J. Knoef: Tusschen rococo en romantiek (The Hague, 1943)
- G. de Lairese: Groot schilderboek, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1707)
- M. Levey: Rococo to revolution: major trends in eighteenth-century painting (London, 1966)
- F. Lugt: Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes ... (Amsterdam, 1921); Supplement (The Hague, 1956)
- : Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques ..., 1600-1825, 3 vols (The Hague, 1938-64)
- N. Maclaren: The Dutch school (London, 1960)
- C. van Mander: Het schilder-boeck (Haarlem, 1604)
- G. H. Marius: De hollandsche schilderkunst in de negentiende eeuw (The Hague, 1903); Eng. trans. ed. G. Norman as Dutch painters of the 19th century (London, 1973)
- K. J. Müllenmeister: Meer und Land im Licht des 17. Jahrhunderts, ii-iii, Tierdarstellungen in Werken niederländischen Künstler (Bremen, 1978-81)
- A. Nijstad: Nederlandse schilders in publikaties voor 1700: een register (The Hague, 1978)
- F. D. O. Obreen, ed.: Archief voor nederlandse kunstgeschiedenis, 7 vols (Rotterdam, 1877-90; R Soest, 1976)
- E. Panofsky: Early Netherlandish painting, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA, 1953)
- M. Rooses, ed.: Het schildersboek: nederlandse schilders der negentiende eeuw in monographien door tijdgenoten, 4 vols (Amsterdam, 1878-1900)
- J. Rosenberg, S. Slive and E. H. ter Kuile: Dutch art and architecture, 1600-1800 (Harmondsworth, 3/1977); review by J. Bruyn in Art Bulletin, liv (1972), pp. 219-22
- G. van Rijn: Atlas van Stolk: catalogus der historie- en

zinneprenten betreffende de geschiedenis van Nederland, 10 vols (The Hague, 1933)

J. von Sandrart: Teutsche akademie (Nuremberg, 1675-9)

P. A. Scheen: Lexikon nederlandse beeldende kunstenaars, 1750-1950 (The Hague, 1981)

W. Schöne: Über das Licht in der Malerei (Berlin, 1954)

F. G. A. M. Smit: Frans Greenwood (1680-1763); Dutch poet and engraver (Peterborough, 1988)

W. L. Strauss, ed.: The illustrated Bartsch (New York, 1978)

P. J. J. Thiel et al.: All the paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 1976)

U. Thieme and F. Becker: Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, 37 vols (Leipzig, 1907-50)

F. G. Waller: Biografisch woordenboek van noord-nederlandsche graveurs (The Hague, 1938)

J. C. Weyerman: De levensbeschrijvingen der nederlandse konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen, 4 vols (The Hague, 1729-69)

C. Wright: The Dutch painters: 100 17th century masters (London, 1978)

___: Paintings in Dutch museums (Amsterdam, 1980)

A. von Wurzbach: Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon auf Grund archivalische Forschungen bearbeitet, 3 vols (Vienna and Leipzig, 1906-11, R Amsterdam 1974)

4.4 OTHER REFERENCES

A. J. van der Aa: Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, 21 vols (Haarlem, 1852-78)

A. E. Bell: Christiaan Huygens and the development of science in the seventeenth century (London, 1947)

J. le Francq van Berkhey: Natuurlyke historie van Holland, 7 vols (Leiden, 1769-79)

A. G. Bienfait and M. Kossmann: Oude hollandsche tuinen, 2 vols (The Hague, 1943)

H. Blink: Nederland en zijne bewoners, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1888-92)

- D. P. Blok et al., eds: Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden, 15 vols (Haarlem, 1977-83)
- J. A. Bornewasser et al., eds: Winkler Prins geschiedenis der Nederlanden, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1977)
- G. L. Burke: The making of Dutch towns (London, 1956)
- R. C. Caenegem et al., eds: Grote Winkler Prins encyclopedie, 25 vols (Amsterdam, 8/1979-84)
- B. Denvir: The eighteenth century: art, design and society, 1689-1789 (London, 1983)
- A. T. Deursen: Het kopergeld van de gouden eeuw, 4 vols (Assen, 1978-80), i (1978), Het dagelijks brood, ii (1978), Volkskultuur, iii (1979), Volk en overheid, iv (1980), Hel en hemel (Assen, 1978)
- J. G. van Dillen: Van rijkdom en regenten; handboek tot de economische en sociale geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de republiek (The Hague, 1970)
- M. Donkersloot-de Vrij: Topografische kaarten van Nederland vòòr 1750 (Groningen, 1981)
- J. Farington: The diary of Joseph Farington, 16 vols (i-vi, eds K. Garlick and A. Macintyre ; vii-xvi, ed. K. Cave; London, 1978-84)
- S. J. Fockema Andreae: Geschiedenis van de kartografie in Nederland (The Hague, 1947)
- J. G. Frederiks and F. J. van den Branden: Biographisch woordenboek der noord en zuidnederlandsche letterkunde (Amsterdam, 1888)
- M. K. E. Gottschalk: Stormvloed en rivieroverstromingen in Nederland, iii, 1600-1700 (Amsterdam, 1977)
- R. Graves: The Greek myths, 2 vols (Harmondsworth, rev. 1960)
- L. Guicciardini: Descrittione di tutti i paesi bassi (Antwerp, 1576); Dutch trans. C. Kiliaan, ed. P. Montanus: Beschryvinghe van alle de nederlanden ... (Amsterdam, 1612)
- J. D. H. Harten: 'Stedelijke invloeden op het hollandsche landschap in de 16de, 17de en 18de eeuw', Holland, x/3 (1978), pp. 114-34
- J. Harvey: Medieval gardens (London, 1981)
- P. Harvey: The Oxford companion to Classical literature (Oxford, 1984)

J. H. Hingman: Inventaris der verzameling kaarten berustende in het Rijksarchief, tweede gedeelte (The Hague, 1871)

W. Hofman: Historische plattegronden van nederlandse steden, i, Amsterdam (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1984), ii, Rotterdam (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1978)

J. Huizinga: Dutch civilization in the 17th century and other essays (London, 1968)

C. Huygens: Oeuvres complètes, 21 vols (The Hague, 1888-1950)

J. Israel: Dutch primacy in world trade (London, 1989)

M. Kemp: 'Simon Stevin and Pieter Saenredam: a study of mathematics and vision in Dutch science and art', Art Bulletin, lxxviii/2 (1986), pp. 237-51

E. J. Kenney, ed.: Cambridge history of Classical literature, ii, Latin (Cambridge, 1982)

J. H. Kinderen-Besier: Spelevaart der mode: de kledij onzer voorouders in de zeventiende eeuw (Amsterdam, 1950)

C. Koeman: Atlantes neerlandici: bibliography of terrestrial, maritime and celestial atlases and pilotbooks published in the Netherlands up to 1880, 5 vols (Amsterdam, 1964-71)

-- and H. J. Hoeman: vi, Supplement (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1985)

A. M. Lambert: The making of the Dutch landscape (London, 2/1985)

S. Marolais: Perspective, dat is: de doorsichtige ... Nu nieuws uyt de Fransche in onse nederlandsche tale over-geset (Amsterdam, 1638)

P. C. Molhuysen and F. H. K. Kossman, eds: Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, 10 vols (Leiden, 1911-37)

F. Moryson: An itinerary of ten yeeres travell (London, 1617)

[J. Murray]: Tour in Holland in the year 1819 (London, n.d.)

N. W. Posthumus: Inquiry into the history of prices in Holland (Leiden, 1946-64)

J. L. Price: Culture and society in the Dutch republic during the 17th century (London, 1974)

- P. E. van Reyen: Middeleeuwse kastelen in Nederland (Bussum, 1965)
- V. Ronchi: The nature of light: a historical survey (London, 1970)
- I. Schöffer: 'Did Holland's Golden Age coincide with a period of crisis?', Acta Historiae Neerlandica, i (1966), pp. 82-107
- : 'The Batavian myth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', Britain and the Netherlands, eds J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann, v (The Hague, 1975), pp. 78-101; reprinted in P. A. M. Geurts and A. E. M. Jansen, eds: Geschiedschrijving in Nederland, 2 vols (The Hague, 1981), ii, pp. 85-109
- S. Stevin: 'Van de verschaevwing', ed. D. J. Struik (Amsterdam, 1958); ii b of The principal works of Simon Stevin, ed. E. Crone et al. (Amsterdam, 1955-66), pp. 798-965
- Stichting Wetenschappelijke Atlas van Nederland: Atlas van Nederland (The Hague, 1963-77)
- K. W. Swart: The miracle of the Dutch republic as seen in the seventeenth century (London, 1967)
- C. H. C. A. van Sypesteijn: Oud-nederlandsche tuinen (The Hague, 1910)
- W. Temple: Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands (London, 1673)
- K. Thomas: Man and the natural world (Harmondsworth, 1984)
- P. A. F. van Veen: De soeticheydt des buyten-levens, vergheselschap met boucken: het hofdicht als tak van een georgische literatuur (Utrecht, 1985)
- J. de Vries: 'Barges and capitalism: passenger transportation in the Dutch economy, 1632-1839', A. A. G. Bijdragen, xxi (1978); as book (Utrecht, 1981)
- G. Verwey: Geschiedenis van Nederland (Amsterdam/Brussels, 1976, 2/1983)
- Woordenboek der nederlandsche taal (The Hague, 1863-)
- A. M. van der Woude: 'Het noorderkwartier', A. A. G. Bijdragen, 3 vols, xvi (1972-3)
- J. W. de Zeeuw: 'Peat in the Dutch golden age', A. A. G. Bijdragen, xxi (1978), pp. 3-31
- P. Zumthor: Daily life in Rembrandt's Holland (London, 1962)